The Outlook

Volume 87 *Saturday, September 7, 1907* *Number 1*

CONTENTS

Regulation that Regulates 1
A Commissioner's Criticism 1
Government by Commission in Georgia ... 2
Republican Sentiment in the Middle West 3
The Coming Election in San Francisco ... 4
The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill 5
The Liberals and the Irish Nationalists .. 5
Conservatism in Canada 6
British Indians and Citizenship 7
Central America's Prospect for Peace ... 8
The Lighthouse 8
A Novel Civic Primer 9
The White Man and the Pacific 10
Richard Mansfield 11
Inaction, Extirpation, Regulation 12
A Check on Postal Efficiency 13
Silence 15
The Spectator 16
The Constitution and the Corporations ... 19
By Charles F. Amidon
Korea and Japan at The Hague 26
By Elbert F. Baldwin
The Red-Winged Blackbird (Poem) 28
By Martha Young
Elizabeth Whittier and the Amesbury Home 29
By Annie Russell Marble
Woman Suffrage in Finland 35
By G. H. Blakeslee
Problems of Every-Day Life: The True Man and an Unreal Theology 39
By L. W. Snell
Crabbe, the Parson Poet 41
Comment on Current Books 44

Published by the Outlook Company, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York. Chicago Office, Marquette Building.
The subscription price of The Outlook is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.
Postage is prepaid by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, and Mexico. For Canada $1.20 should be added for postage, and for all other countries in the Postal Union $1.56 should be added for postage.
Change of address: When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.
Orders and instructions for advertising must be received eight days before the Saturday on which it is intended the advertisement shall appear.

Copyright, 1907, by the Outlook Company.

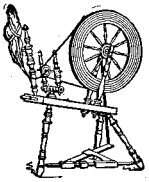
Entered as second-class matter in the New York Post-Office.

The National Movement for Physical Culture

During the next year The Outlook will publish a group of articles on this general subject by Luther H. Gulick, whose experience as director of physical training in New York public schools and in the physical training department of the Young Men's Christian Associations has caused him to be recognized as an authority in the advanced ideas relating to physical culture. The topics of these articles will be: The New Athletics (emphasizing the necessity in schools and colleges of working for the physical improvement of the whole mass of students); The New Athletics for Girls; A Solution of the Playground Problem (including a plan for a twenty-story playground building); The City and the Children (showing how by co-operation apartment-houses may be adapted for physical culture; Back Yard Ideals (showing how even a small back yard may be made of service in the way of physical culture to children of a family neighborhood); and Defective Methods of Physical Educati- It is believed that these articles will have positive va- ections in which a national movement for the r- culture should tend, and that they will do this rather than in a technical way.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

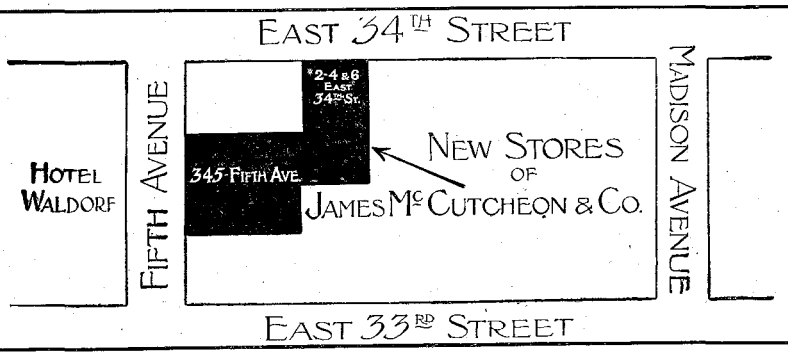
Established Half a Century



Registered Trade Mark

Removal Notice

JAMES McCUTCHEON & CO. beg to announce that they have removed to their new stores, **No. 345 Fifth Avenue** (opposite Waldorf-Astoria), and **Nos. 2, 4 and 6 East 34th Street.** The accompanying diagram shows the location.

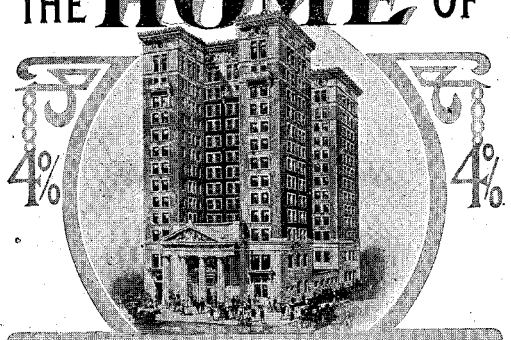


Until the 34th St. building is completed the Fifth Ave. entrance only will be used.

"THE LINEN STORE"

JAMES McCUTCHEON & CO., 5th Ave. and 34th St., New York

THE HOME OF



BANKING BY MAIL

United States government bonds are absolutely safe, but yield only 2% or 3%.
This bank offers in its savings department an investment which is just as reliable—just as safe, and ... 4% interest, compounded semi-annually.
... for our free booklet "V" which tells ... bank and its system of handling ac-

... MILLION DOLLARS

...NS
...T CO.

The Best TONIC

For the restoration of energy and vitality; the relief of mental and nervous exhaustion, impaired digestion or appetite, there is no remedy so beneficial as

HORSFORD'S Acid Phosphate

(Non-Alcoholic.)

It is a scientific and carefully prepared preparation of the phosphates that provides the tonic and nerve food needed to improve the general health.

If your druggist can't supply you, send 25 cents to RUMFORD CHEMICAL WORKS, Providence, R. I., for sample bottle, postage paid.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Outlook

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 7, 1907

Vol. 87 No. 1

Published by the Outlook Company, 287 Fourth Ave., New York. Chicago Office, Marquette Building.
Lawrence F. Abbott, President. William B. Howland, Treasurer. Karl V. S. Howland, Secretary.
Lyman Abbott, Editor-in-Chief. H. W. Mabie, Associate Editor. R. D. Townsend, Managing Editor.

$3 a year
10c. a copy

Regulation That Regulates

The first year of the operation of the Railway Rate Regulation Law, commonly known as the Hepburn Law, expired last week. Under this statute the Inter-State Commerce Commission has had the power to fix railway rates upon complaint. Predictions that the law would be ineffective and the Commission powerless have been disproved. In place of twenty complaints, which was the average annual number under the preceding law, and in place of eighty one, which was the total for the year before the present law was passed, there have been over three hundred and fifty complaints within the past year. Of these the Commission has rendered decision in ninety-one. In barely more than half of these cases the complaint has been sustained; in all but two of the rest the complaint has been dismissed; in those two a rehearing has been granted. This statement, however, gives no adequate idea of the far-reaching effect of the law. In the first place, in the course of considering these complaints, and as a result of investigations carried on for the purpose of ascertaining facts with regard to the financial operations of railways and the workings of safety devices, the Commission has secured a vast amount of information which would have been otherwise unattainable. More than this, the effect of the law has been shown in actions taken by the railways without any formal complaints. Indeed, the railways have, as a rule, shown little disposition to disregard the statute or to escape from its provisions. Secretary Taft, in his speech at Columbus, declared that "there were filed with the Inter-State Commerce Commission more notices of reduced rates by the railroads than ever had been filed in the previous twenty years of the life of the Inter-State Commerce Law." Besides all this, the Commission has made a number of administrative rulings without waiting for complaints, and, in particular, has put into effect the system of accounting, uniform for all roads, which the new law authorized.

❀

A Commissioner's Criticism

The very success of the law has already made it clear to many men that it needs still further development. The end of the law's first year finds the Commission burdened with a task that threatens to exceed its powers. Not only are there a multitude of cases continually arising, but among those cases there are some which involve enormous sums of money and the prosperity of large regions of the country. At the meeting of the American Bar Association last week Mr. Charles A. Prouty, a member of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, discussed with some detail the complicated nature of the Commission's work. He pointed out, in very happy language, the fundamental position which the railways occupy in the life of the modern world. The place occupied in former days by the highways, which traditionally were the king's, has now been taken by the railways. Since whoever controls these avenues of transportation "holds the commercial dominion of this land," it is essential that the people maintain them as public ways. For a generation the people, acting through their State governments, have attempted to secure the public rights upon these highways by the establishment of administrative commissions; and since 1887 the Federal Government has asserted a varying degree of power over inter-State roads through the Inter-State Commerce Commission. This Commission has two interests to conserve: on the one hand, the interest of

75454

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the public; and, on the other hand, since these roads have been constructed by private capital, the interest of the owners. More than that, in the performance of its work the Commission, Mr. Prouty says, exercises a double function. On the one hand, it is its duty to preserve these highways to the public, and by administrative rulings so to apply the law and so to make regulations as to preserve the rights of the community as a whole. On the other hand, it is its duty to stand between the railways and individuals with grievances, to hear the cases, and to render decision. The distinction between these two functions he makes clear by a supposititious case. A railway charges for freight on a single commodity a few cents per ton more than is warranted. The dealer in this commodity makes no complaint, because he can collect the overcharge from the consumers; and the consumers make no complaint, because in each individual case the overcharge is not sufficient to justify the expenditure of money to right the wrong; and yet the community as a whole may suffer millions of dollars of damage. It is this wrong, which is not private but public, which it is the business of the Commission to set right. At the same time, according to the Act, all individual complaints against the railways must first be brought before the Commission. In this respect it acts in a judicial capacity. Nevertheless, the Commission is not a judicial body. These two functions, the one legislative and administrative, the other judicial or quasi-judicial, should not be intrusted, in Mr. Prouty's opinion, to the same body. The process of issuing orders as to tariffs and accounts and of prescribing a rate, a regulation, or a practice for the future is, he believes, very different from that of determining, as between a complainant and a railway, the reasonableness of a rate or schedule. He believes that these two processes should be separated. He suggests that those duties which are largely executive should be assigned to a department with a single head responsible to the Executive. Those duties which he describes as largely judicial, he suggests, should be assigned to an enlarged commission withdrawn from personal and political influences. "The time has come," he concludes, "when the Commission should be relieved of all its duties except the hearing and deciding of complaints." Mr. Prouty does not make it clear to us how the administrative function of fixing a rate for the future can be separated from what he regards as the judicial function of hearing complaints about rates. In the meantime, however the organization of the Commission may be perfected, its present achievements are a cause for gratification.

❀

Government by Commission in Georgia

Probably the most important action of the Georgia Legislature, which adjourned August 17, was the passage of a public utilities bill following closely the line of the New York public utilities bill. It is called the Railroad Commission Bill, as its object was to increase the membership and enlarge and define the powers of the Georgia Railroad Commission. There has been a Railroad Commission in Georgia for a score of years, but the railway interests which so long dominated the State seemed always able to control the majority of this Commission. As a result the intra-State rates of Georgia were a third higher than the corresponding rates in adjoining States, and the public indignation against this state of affairs culminated in the election of Hoke Smith as Governor on a platform of railway rate reform. After the overwhelming demonstration of the popular will afforded by Mr. Smith's election the Commission set about doing what it could have done long before. Freight rates were reduced on some classes of goods, and, upon petition of the Farmers' Union, passenger rates were also reduced by the old Commission, to go into effect September 2. Under this order of the Commission the railways of the State are divided into four classes, with a passenger rate of two cents a mile for class A, two and a quarter cents for class B, two and a half cents for class C, and three cents for class D. The new Railroad Commission Law of Georgia was opposed in the Legislature by the representatives of the railways, there being the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

largest railway lobby in evidence that has been seen in years at the Capitol. In spite of this opposition, however, and with the aid of Governor Smith, the bill was passed. Following the meeting of the Legislature, Governor Smith suspended from his position on the Commission the Hon. Joseph M. Brown, who had been long regarded as a stanch partisan of the railways. The Hon. S. G. McLendon, who had already been elected his successor by popular vote and would take office on October 1, was immediately appointed to succeed Mr. Brown. Two other able students of railway problems were appointed to fill the two new places provided by the law, and thus a majority of the reorganized Commission were on the side of the wished-for reduction in freight and passenger rates. The jurisdiction of the Commission is extended by the new law over public docks, wharves, terminal companies, sleeping and palace car companies, telegraph and telephone companies, street railways, and electric and gas-lighting plants. Following the precedent set by North Carolina, the violation of the orders of the Commission are made criminal offenses against State law; and while, of course, the right of appeal to the Federal courts is yielded, the public utility companies must obey the orders of the Commission pending the final decision of the point at issue. The rate-fixing power is conferred upon the Commission in clear terms, and no public utility company is allowed to issue additional stocks or bonds or to borrow money on its securities without the consent of the Commission. Thus, the new law in Georgia is a far-reaching measure.

❀

Republican Sentiment in the Middle West

Straw votes, post-card canvasses, and like methods of testing the direction and force of the political wind before an election or a nominating convention are generally little to be relied upon. But the plan which the Chicago Tribune has followed in a recent canvass seems better adapted than the more common hit-or-miss method to give significant results. In any case, the replies which were received by the Tribune are interesting even if they indicate the direction of merely local breezes and not of the great trade-winds of the country's political seas. Inquiries were sent to editors of Republican newspapers, Republican Congressmen and legislators, and other political leaders of the party in eleven States of the Middle West, including Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, and Kansas. Four questions were asked: Do you approve the progressive policies of the President? Do you prefer a candidate of the progressive school for his successor, or a man of more conservative views? Of the following suggested nominees, Cannon, Fairbanks, Knox, Hughes, and Taft, which are your first, second, and third choices? Have you any other candidate in mind? More than seventeen hundred replies were received, and of these only sixty-five answered no to the first question. About as many failed to answer the question, but 1,569 registered their indorsement of the President's policies. A slightly smaller number want a progressive successor, but still the preponderance is overwhelming, 1,435 to 176. In the vote for favorite candidates the result is no less noteworthy. Secretary Taft leads for first choice with 944 votes, with Senator La Follette—although his name was not mentioned in the list prepared by the Tribune—second at 239, Speaker Cannon third at 191, Governor Hughes fourth at 184, and Vice-President Fairbanks and President Roosevelt nearly tied for the fifth place at 159 and 158 respectively. The votes credited to Mr. Roosevelt, says the Tribune, "are from persons who objected to the form of the third question and refused to name any other candidate" than the President. A majority of the replies sent in showed that the writers would prefer Mr. Roosevelt's nomination to any other; some of them want him "if he will accept," while others say he should be named "in spite of himself." Mr. Taft not only is the leader in the entire section, but is the first choice of eight of the eleven States, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin each being loyal to a "favorite son"—Cannon, Fairbanks, and La Follette, respectively. On this basis the Tribune

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

calculates that Mr. Taft would have 160 delegates to the National Convention, Mr. Cannon 54, Mr. Fairbanks 30, and Mr. La Follette 26. In the vote for second choice Governor Hughes leads with 560, Mr. Taft being second with 322, and Mr. Cannon third with 259. For third choice Mr. Hughes leads again with 280. The outcome of this canvass is significant as indicating that, whatever may be the attitude of Wall Street and the great industrial and financial interests of the country toward the President, the Republicans of the powerful Middle West are strong in their approval of his policies; that they want as his successor a progressive man who will carry on those policies; that at the present time Secretary Taft is looked upon by them as the best man to carry them on; and that Governor Hughes has somewhat unexpected popularity in that region as a second choice.

❀

The Coming Election in San Francisco

The municipal situation in San Francisco is complicated, and has both hopeful and threatening aspects. Mayor Taylor's right to his office has been sustained by the Supreme Court. The same court has also sustained the conviction of Schmitz, and although there may be a further appeal, a new decision could not be had before the term of office to which Schmitz was elected as Mayor expires. The better sentiment of all parties in the city approves of Mayor Taylor's appointments to the Board of Supervisors and his action in calling upon the various municipal boards to drop politics and bring the city into a normal condition again. The results of the primaries recently held have been encouraging as regards the Republican and Democratic parties, but discouraging as regards the Labor party. Of the vote cast by the Republicans, Mr. Ryan, who stood for the support of the prosecution of graft, received 7,965 votes, while the opponents of that policy, generally called Herrin Republicans, polled 4,539 votes. The regular Democrats, who were also in favor of the vigorous prosecution of grafters, polled 1,991 votes as against 1,052 in opposition. But that combination of factions in the Labor party headed by McCarthy, who stands for all that is worst in labor circles, who is an upholder of Schmitz and takes orders from this convicted felon, succeeded in bringing out 3,536 votes, as against the 1,959 of the Union Labor division, which approves of the action of District Attorney Langdon, himself originally a Labor candidate, in pressing the prosecution both of bribe-givers and bribe takers. It is hardly conceivable that in its convention the Labor party should renominate Schmitz, but there is still some talk of doing so, and much danger that, at all events, the party may, as a correspondent of The Outlook expresses it, "rate the Labor Union cause and theory as of higher importance than cleanliness and honesty." This danger is the greater because the Examiner, Mr. Hearst's paper, which formerly supported Mr. Langdon, has broken away from him politically. There have been rumors also of a combination between the labor unions and Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Herrin, representing respectively the street-car corporation and the Southern Pacific Railway—the reason alleged being that the corrupt corporation interests, since they were defeated at the primaries of the other parties, must combine with the labor element if the prosecution of wealthy bribe-givers is to be stopped. Such a coalition would of course involve a settlement of the strikes on the street-car lines. The conviction last week of Louis Glass, of the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company, is a heavy blow to the forces of corruption, as the first conviction of a bribe-giver acting for a corporation. Friends of reform can only hope that the disclosures and prosecutions of the year will arouse public indignation to such a pitch that nothing may prevent the choice of honest and efficient municipal officers. For a clear, connected, and fair-minded account of "The Fight for Reform in San Francisco" in its earlier stages we direct the attention of our readers to the article under that title by Mr. George Kennan in the current number of McClure's Magazine; and we must quote from that article a single personal incident which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we do not remember to have seen before in type. Mr. Kennan, after relating the failure of Mr. Spreckels to find fifteen, ten, or even fewer prominent citizens who would join a committee for investigating and fighting graft, tells how he decided to back the prosecution financially with one hundred thousand dollars and got Mr. Heney to undertake the main work of prosecution. Then followed this dialogue:

"If you go into this work," said Mr. Spreckels, "I shall expect you to give it your undivided time and attention and your best energies. You'll have to abandon everything else and devote yourself exclusively to this business. Upon such conditions, what do you think your share of the hundred thousand dollars should be?"

To this Mr. Heney replied: "I don't want any share at all. If you—a man of wealth, a man who doesn't have to go into things of this kind—are willing to give it your time and your money, to sacrifice your comfort and, if necessary, your business and your friends, in order to put up a fight for honest government, I should be a poor sort of creature if I were not willing to make some sacrifice myself. I'll conduct this prosecution without pay." Then, with a smile, he added: "If a grateful city chooses to erect a monument over my grave when I'm dead, all right; it will be reward enough."

This is the spirit in which a city's regeneration should be undertaken.

❀

The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill

Two noteworthy events marked the last week of the session of the British Parliament just closed. One was the adoption, after a sixty years' running fight, of an act permitting a widower to marry the sister of his dead wife. Most of our readers will remember that such a bill has passed the House of Commons again and again, only to meet defeat at the hands of the House of Lords, and chiefly through the influence of the Bishops of the Established Church. This opposition was not even lessened by the fact that King Edward, when he was Prince of Wales, took the trouble to show his approval of the measure by going to the upper House, and, as a peer, voting in its favor. At last, however, the agitation which has been vigorously carried on for so many years has met with its reward, although, if the account which has reached this country is correct, the singular anomaly still exists that while a widower may now marry his dead wife's sister, a widow may not marry her dead husband's brother. The prohibition of both kinds of marriage, of course, originated with the ecclesiastical or canon law, which from very early times has classed the connection between husband and wife's sister or between wife and husband's brother as coming within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. Philosophically this is supported by the dogma that marriage is a sacrament; but to aver that people are "blood relations" who may perhaps have no nearer natural tie of kinship than that through Adam seems to modern ideas a perversion of language. The law now repealed dates, we believe, from 1835, and in its enactment it recognized the canon law so far as to declare marriages of this kind already made as voidable, though not void. One argument in favor of the prohibition frequently urged by those who approved of it was that its very existence tended to lessen immorality supposed to be made likely by the close family connection between persons of the prohibited degree. But no such necessity has become evident in other countries, and, on the other hand, the prohibition has worked hardship, especially among the poorer classes of England, where the marriage of a widower with children to his dead wife's sister is very often the most simple and practical solution of a difficult problem. The English colonies have, with perhaps one or two exceptions, long since done away with the relic of mediævalism and ecclesiasticism now abandoned, though with true British deliberateness, by Parliament.

❀

The Liberals and the Irish Nationalists

Less picturesque, perhaps, but more important, was the clash between political parties as to the Irish Evicted Tenants Bill. As our readers know, the Irish Nationalists were dissatisfied with the bill even as it passed the House of Commons. When it reached the House of Lords, the bill was subjected to a series of amendments which very decidedly reduced its value from the point of view of the Irish lead-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers. The latter undoubtedly hoped that the Liberals would make a strong fight against the upper House on the bill, and they were both disappointed and enraged when Mr. Birrell, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, announced that the Campbell-Bannerman Government proposed to compromise with the Lords, preferring to yield as regards some of the amendments rather than to lose the bill entirely. Mr. John E. Redmond, as the leader of the Irish Nationalists, broke out in bitter invective and threatened that the end had come to the alliance with the Liberals which the Irish Nationalists have maintained, although with more or less friction and revolt, since Gladstone began his Home Rule campaign over twenty years ago. The fact that the Liberal leaders were unwilling to fight the Tories in the upper House to a finish on this issue, taken in connection with their similar determination with regard to the Education Bill and other measures, is a confirmation of the belief expressed in these columns a few weeks ago that the nation as a whole is not enthusiastic about adopting the tentative proposals for a campaign against the House of Lords outlined not long ago in the form of a resolution by the Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and passed in that form by the House of Commons. The Irish Nationalists are now particularly isolated, as in addition to this break with the Liberals they have to contend with the new Sein Finn party in Ireland. "Sein Finn" means in Celtic "Ourselves," and the faction advocate the withdrawal of Irish members from Parliament and a policy of passive resistance to English rule, English trade, and English taxes.

❀

Conservatism in Canada

In view of the approaching general election in Canada, Mr. R. C. Borden, the leader of the minority in Parliament, has recently been making a tour of the country that lies between Halifax and Toronto, submitting to the electors the programme on which the Conservatives will make the campaign against the Laurier Government. It is an uphill task that the Conservatives have entered upon; because since they were defeated at the general election in 1896 they have been without a policy, and their weakness and demoralization have been obvious and complete. For eleven years the Conservatives have been in a position unique among minorities in Anglo-Saxon legislative bodies. That they have been without a policy for these eleven years is due to the fact that the policy for which they stood from 1879 until the Tupper Administration was defeated in 1896 has been bodily annexed and greatly extended and developed by the Liberal Government. The Conservatives originated the National Policy—with its high protective duties and bounties—in the days when Sir John A. Macdonald was their leader; and by 1896 this policy of reducing imports and making Canada industrially independent of both Great Britain and the United States was the only policy for which the Conservative party stood. It had kept them in office for seventeen or eighteen years, and during all this time the National Policy was most vigorously and uncompromisingly opposed by the Liberals. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when he was leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, likened it to the slavery that existed in the Southern States, and attributed all the corruption in political life in Canada to the subserviency of the Conservative Government to the protected manufacturers and the other interests which sought government largess at Ottawa. Sir Richard Cartwright, long the most popular orator in the Liberal party in Canada, was equally emphatic in his condemnation of the National Policy, and time and again denounced protection as legalized robbery. In the platform on which the Liberals went into the general election of 1896 protection was similarly condemned; and by one of the planks in the platform the Liberals pledged themselves to an abandonment of protection and a return to a tariff for revenue only, like that which was in operation prior to 1879.

❀

"Dishing" the Conservatives

Just as soon, however, as the Liberals came into power, they turned their backs on all their utterances against protection in and out of Parliament

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between 1879 and 1896; and, except that they have established a preference for imports from Great Britain, they have adopted the National Policy of the Conservatives in its entirety. In fact, many duties are now higher than they were when the Conservatives went out of office. Many new industries also have been brought under the shelter of the tariff; while as regards bounties, the amount paid out to-day is twenty or thirty times as large as was paid out in the closing years of the Conservative régime. In this way the Liberals have "dished" the Conservatives. They have left them stranded, high and dry, without any policy; and all that the Conservatives have been able to do since 1897 has been to insist on still higher duties in the tariff, and to object to the preference for Great Britain because Great Britain makes no preference for Canadian imports. According to the speech in which Mr. Borden opened the campaign at Halifax, this is still to be the policy of the Conservatives. In addition, there was the announcement that the Conservatives indorse Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for interlacing the tariff systems of Great Britain and Canada; and also that if returned to power they will penalize bribery and corruption at elections; insist on publicity with regard to expenditures by political organizations; put an end to partisan appointments to the civil service; reform the method of selecting Senators; establish discriminations in connection with immigration from the Old World; put the management of the Government railways in the hands of a permanent and independent commission; organize a public utilities commission after the New York model; and nationalize the telegraphs and telephone services of the Dominion. This, in brief, is the Halifax programme—the programme by which new life is to be infused into the Conservative party. There is little likelihood that the Conservatives can overthrow the Laurier Government; but there has long been an obvious need of a vigilant and efficient opposition at Ottawa—an opposition standing for some policy besides that of still higher duties in the tariff; and any gain that the Conservatives may make at the general election cannot fail to bring some improvement at Ottawa, where of late years scandals—political, social, and financial—have been disturbingly frequent, and the occasion of many forebodings on the part of Canadians who regret the existence of low ideals in Dominion and Provincial politics.

❀

British Indians and Citizenship in White Men's Countries

Attorney-General Bonaparte's ruling that natives of British India are ineligible as United States citizens—a ruling that was asked for from San Francisco in consequence of Hindus in that city having applied for citizenship papers—cannot be objected to by the British Government. It is, however, a ruling that will add to the difficulties with which the Campbell-Bannerman Government is just now confronted in connection with some hundred and twelve thousand Indians who are domiciled in Natal and the Transvaal. In the Transvaal the difficulty is acute. It is one of the most serious difficulties that has arisen since powers of self-government were bestowed on the new colony. At Pretoria the colonial government takes much the same ground that Attorney-General Bonaparte does when he holds that these Indians are not white, and consequently not eligible for citizenship. In the days of the old Boer Republic Kruger took exactly the same ground, and refused to grant citizenship rights to Indians. A law was passed by the Volksraad denying many privileges of citizenship to the Indians; but Lord Lansdowne—and later on Mr. Chamberlain—insisted that these Indians were British subjects, and under the London Convention of 1884 there could be no discrimination against them. The point thus at issue between the British and the Boer Governments never reached a final settlement. To-day, however, notwithstanding the fact that the Transvaal has been a British colony since 1901, many harsh discriminations are in force against the Indians. They cannot enter the colony without a permit. They may not own real estate. In some of the Transvaal cities there are move-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments on foot to confine them for both business and residence to outlying reservations; and in Johannesburg they are not permitted to use the sidewalks or to ride in cars on the railways or surface lines that are used by white people. In nearly every particular the Indians in the Transvaal to-day are treated as Kaffirs. Against this treatment there have been strong protests to the Campbell-Bannerman Government from the National Association of India and also from organized friends of the Transvaal Indians in London. But public opinion in the Transvaal strongly upholds the action of the colonial government, and the Campbell-Bannerman Government is consequently now in a serious dilemma. If it sanctions the action of the Transvaal Government, a denial of the rights of British subjects to Indians in South Africa will add to the existing native unrest in India and bring the Calcutta Government into sharp controversy with the Home Government. On the other hand, if the Campbell-Bannerman Government should insist on full citizenship privileges for the Indians in the Transvaal, there will be a storm of protest from Pretoria and Johannesburg, where the ruling of Attorney-General Bonaparte will be hailed with much satisfaction as strengthening the case of the Transvaal Government. There are no complaints in the Transvaal that the Indians are not a well-behaved and a self-sustaining people. They are objected to solely because they can live more cheaply than white people, and because they undersell white storekeepers who are engaged in retail trade. Exactly the same objections are made regarding the hundred thousand Indians now in Natal. But in Natal there can be no such discriminations against them as are enforced against the Indians in the Transvaal, because Natal must draw on India for its coolie labor. Ruin would overtake the Natal planters and mine-owners if this supply of labor from India were to stop; and the Government at Calcutta would instantly prohibit recruiting in India if it became dissatisfied with the treatment accorded the Indians who since 1860 have been domiciled in Natal.

Central America's Prospect for Peace

Some account was given last week in The Outlook of the deplorable dissensions between several of the little republics of Central America. Rumors of the invasion of Salvador by Nicaragua, of the overweening ambition of President Zelaya, and of the probability that Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica would be involved in the struggle, indicated that the much-to-be-desired peace and harmony between these uneasy and hot-blooded Southern neighbors of ours was far distant. A more hopeful aspect is now to be recorded. President Roosevelt, in conjunction with President Diaz, of Mexico, has sent a telegraphic appeal to the rulers of the five countries named above urging upon them a conference, the object of which should be to agree upon a joint treaty which should provide for the arbitration of any differences which could not easily be adjusted diplomatically. The good offices of the United States and Mexico are offered in perfecting such an arrangement, and it hardly seems probable that the Central American countries will reject this friendly interposition of the two powerful republics. In fact, it is understood at this writing that favorable replies have been received from three of the republics. It need hardly be pointed out that our Government has no selfish purpose in this action, and that the attempt to secure permanent peace and perhaps a federation on fair and just conditions is quite in line with President Roosevelt's whole policy toward international relations.

❀

The Lighthouse

Philadelphia has an interesting institution, now ten years old, which affords a splendid example of an effective anti-saloon agency. It is a settlement, known as the Lighthouse, and it is located right in the heart of the Kensington mill district. In a strict sense it is not a charity, as those who patronize it are required to pay an initiation and a membership fee; although, like colleges and other educational institutions, it requires additional support. It maintains a good restaurant, where a good, wholesome meal at a very

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moderate price can be procured, free from meretricious attractions. It affords a convenient meeting-place for men's clubs and labor unions, which are all too frequently compelled to seek accommodation in or over saloons for want of better places. It is also a club-house, where men may gather when out of work, or between shifts, or in the evening, but its accommodations are confined to members. Moreover, it serves as a promoter and underwriter for baseball, football, and similar clubs, which, in Philadelphia at least, are all too frequently permitted to become appanages of the saloon. In short, the Lighthouse, which has just laid the corner-stone of a fine new house to accommodate the increasing pressure upon it in many directions, makes provision for the fellowship instinct in man, but for his good and for his upbuilding rather than for his ultimate undoing. In other words, the institution is a thoughtful and consistent and successful effort to supply a self-respecting poor man's club. Connected with the management of the Lighthouse, although not an organic part of it, is the Boys' Club of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. This club is doing for the boys of the neighborhood what the Lighthouse is doing for the men, and the effect is being seen in a more wholesome condition throughout the district. While not a Church affair, the Lighthouse is principally in the hands of communicants of the Episcopal Church, and its Superintendent (and founder), Mr. Robert R. P. Bradford, is a devout Churchman, as is his wife and co-worker, Mrs. Esther Kelly Bradford. Their influence has been religious as well as sociological, and has been directed quite as much to the building up of character as to relieving immediate conditions. The sincere popularity of the Lighthouse affords a strong argument in favor of this method of combating the evil influences of the saloon. It is an effective substitute, and therein lies the secret of its success.

❀

A Novel Civic Primer

The efficient and progressive School Board of Boston has undertaken a novel piece of work, which deserves to find imitation in all large cities where the foreign element in the population is numerous. Early in the autumn the Board is to publish a text-book called "A Civic Reader for the New American." The foreign element in the Boston schools is very large. It includes many children of diverse nationalities, who at the beginning have little or no knowledge of English. The night schools are also thronged with foreign-born adults, all eager for knowledge in branches that will enable them to get on in life. The School Board finds that there is great need for instruction in the elements of citizenship and in a knowledge of the community. These persons land on our shores with only the vaguest ideas of the character of the country and the city they come to. They are too likely to remain uninformed, if not misinformed, upon such subjects. At the best they frequently have to depend largely upon what they learn from local politicians whose relations and motives are wholly mercenary. Hence their primary conception of free government, so far as their observation goes, is too often that of a government of privilege—a grand feeding-trough for the fortunate ones in the multitude who in some way become favored with access to it. With a view to helping the "new American" to make a good citizen of himself, this "Civic Reader" has been undertaken. It is a labor of love on the part of the public-spirited persons who have written the several chapters. These are either specialists or are particularly informed in the subjects treated. The aim is to present in the simplest language the primary facts concerning the country and the locality where the reader lives—facts of history and organization, and how the individual is related to and identified with the Nation, the city, and the people about him.

❀

The Lessons Taught

A prominent clergyman, widely interested in public affairs, writes the first chapter, an account of "The Threefold Government We Live Under"—the United States, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the city of Boston—how each is organized, its respective jurisdiction, and the individual's relation to each.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Next, an accomplished woman tells "The Story of Boston," its past, how it grew, and the city of to-day; also how the city is governed, the Mayor as the executive official. A young and patriotic member of the City Council continues with an account of those who make the city laws; how the City Council is elected, its work, duties, and powers. A prominent educationalist writes about "Our Schools and Libraries," depicting the remarkable fabric of the great school system and the invaluable privileges enjoyed by the people therein, contrasting "compulsory military service" with "compulsory school service," appropriately ending with an account of the Public Library and its branches, and the great Museum of Fine Arts. Well-informed writers tell about the various functions of the city government—care of the streets, protection of property and of public health, and the like. Others explain what naturalization means, what parties stand for, how voting is done, what "corrupt practices" imply, what relation the law courts bear to the people, what the individual's responsibility is for the city, and what the various nationalities contribute to the making of the American people. Finally, as appendices, come copies of the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, "The Story of a Clean Street," "Why Become a Citizen?" and a collection of poems and songs of the civic life. This school-book expresses the same civic sentiment which is given voice in the Boston institution called the "New Voters' Day"—a day annually set apart for young or newly made voters to come together in historic Faneuil Hall, there to be impressed with the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The "new Americans" who have mastered the lessons of this book are not likely to be of the sort herded and voted like cattle under orders to local bosses.

❀

The White Man and the Pacific

While the agitation in regard to Japanese immigration has attracted more attention in California than elsewhere, partly on account of the methods of Californians in attempting to stem it, but chiefly because of the greater number seeking homes on the Pacific Coast of the United States, the anti-Japanese propaganda is by no means confined to that locality. British Columbia to the northward, and even Mexico to the southward, have felt the pressure of this new immigration wave, and the former especially is disturbed by the possibility of an alien race and civilization coming in upon it from the East, and, like California, is earnestly discussing measures of self-protection. Like California also, British Columbia manifests little concern as to the embarrassment its attitude or its measures may cause the Government. This embarrassment is the greater in Canada because of the British-Japanese alliance. As regards the Chinese, the measures already taken against them are in the shape of what is practically a prohibitive poll tax, and thus it is the Chinaman's pocketbook rather than his sensibilities that has been most affected. That British Columbia is ready, however, to take any steps that may be necessary, whether against the Chinaman or the Japanese, in order to assure the dominance of the white race on its Pacific Coast is evident; and this fact, taken in connection with a similar, equally clear determination to the same effect on the part of Australia and New Zealand, makes the situation in California more readily understood. There is little doubt that drastic legislation would promptly be resorted to in all of England's antipodean colonies if it should be deemed necessary to secure the dominance of the white race and the civilization for which it stands. The Canadians generally hold that the whole question of Asiatic immigration is one of peoples and not of statesmanship, as one Toronto paper puts it. British Columbia's poll tax upon Chinese immigration seems to be effective, but it may be doubted whether this policy would be desirable for the United States. As to the Japanese, we would be estopped from such legislation by the treaty existing between Japan and the United States. Moreover, a measure that might be effective as regards the Chinese would probably fail if applied to the Japanese, who are now a world power and able and ready to insist upon due respect upon the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

part of all nations. The new outlet for Japanese energy and surplus population now open in Korea and Manchuria, therefore, seems on the whole to offer the best solution for a problem whose delicacy and difficulty have already been appreciated in Great Britain and the United States.

❀

Richard Mansfield

Richard Mansfield, the leading actor on the American stage, died at his summer home at New London, Connecticut, on August 30. Since last spring, when his tour in "Peer Gynt" was broken off owing to the sheer physical impossibility of continuing so exhausting an effort, Mr. Mansfield's condition had steadily become worse. The interval was spent in vain attempts to arrest the course of the disease. Death found him in the harness no less truly than it had found his great contemporary, Sir Henry Irving, even though for the latter the end came with more merciful swiftness. At that time Mansfield wrote to a friend, "I think that Irving's end was very enviable; it was best so, and is always best so." The career which has ended so had its first real success in his portrayal of Baron Chevrial in "A Parisian Romance." The veteran comedian, J. H. Stoddart, had been cast for the part, but found that he could do nothing with it. The part was given, as an experiment, to young Mansfield, who achieved an instant and remarkable success for the play and for himself. The rôle remained in his répertoire till the time of his death. Previous to his first success he had studied painting, had been a clerk in a dry-goods store, had tried his hand at drawing-room entertaining in London, and had finally become an actor, taking small parts in comedies and light operas in England and this country. In 1887 he made his first successful starring tour in "Prince Karl," which he had first produced in Boston with the famous Boston Museum stock company to support him. Soon after, the first production of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" was made, with great popular success, due rather to the thrilling horror of the actor's dual impersonation than to any excellence in the construction of the play itself. This play, as well, continued to hold a prominent place in Mr. Mansfield's répertoire, and never failed to arouse popular enthusiasm. In the summer of 1888 an engagement in London had disastrous financial results, but added to his répertoire the rôle of Richard III. His production of this play showed the beginnings of his wonderful ability as a stage manager and a creator of fine stage pictures and sound theatrical effects. Two years later he presented in New York "Beau Brummel," written for him by Mr. Clyde Fitch, a play important chiefly as the setting for a charming impersonation, which has remained among Mr. Mansfield's most delightful and most popular presentations. From this time he continually produced new plays of widely varied nature and created new characters of equally divergent types. Each new production gave a new proof of the range of his dramatic ability, the catholicity of his tastes, and of the tireless energy and scrupulous care which he devoted to every detail. Opinion as to Mr. Mansfield's genius as an actor seems to be divided between two widely separated views. One group of admirers, strongly impressed by his versatility, his personal charm, his intellectual power, and his great ability of interpretation, can see nothing else; for them no faults exist. Another group, repelled by his mannerisms, his peculiarities of elocution, his personal aggressiveness, and his inability wholly to hide the actor in the character, deny him unusual ability, and contend that genius so blemished is no genius at all. Probably, as in many such cases, the truth lies between the extremes. The shortcomings, the personal peculiarities, surely existed, and in increasing prominence in his later career, as they did in the case of Sir Henry Irving; but in our opinion, irritating as they were, they were more than compensated for by the charm and power of his impersonations. But the true greatness of Mr. Mansfield's career, whatever be the judgment of his achievement in any one play or group of plays, lies in his fidelity to the ideal which he held always before him. The standard by which he measured his own performance was the standard of art.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He sought, not the reward of applause or of financial success, but the prize of closer approach to perfection in the art of dramatic representation. That he was faithful to this conception of the purpose of the actor's calling, in a time when the commercial spirit has undue influence in the conduct of the drama, is in itself a distinction.

❀

Inaction, Extirpation, Regulation

Three distinct policies are proposed in relation to the railways and other great corporations. The first may be called the policy of inaction; the second, the policy of extirpation; the third, the policy of regulation. Each of these policies has been advocated by a man who has been chosen by his party as a National leader. The policy of inaction is based on what may be termed the Parker doctrine; the policy of extirpation on what may be termed the Bryan doctrine; the policy of regulation on what may be termed the Roosevelt doctrine.

Each of these men is the spokesman of an unorganized party. Among the followers of each there are both Republicans and Democrats. Although Judge Parker is no longer actively engaged in political life, he still represents, perhaps as conspicuously as any one else, all those who, either because of conservative temper or because of financial interests, regard it not only as unnecessary but as positively dangerous to enact and enforce Federal laws in restraint or control of the corporations engaged in industry or transportation. So far as we recall, the most categorical statement of the view held by these conservatives was made in Judge Parker's speech of acceptance three years ago, when he said: "The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Court of Appeals of this State [New York], and the courts of last resort in many other States, warrant the assertion that the common law as developed affords a complete legal remedy against monopolies." And last week before the American Bar Association Mr. Parker made clear his lack of sympathy with what he called "the recent claims for Federal intervention in directions heretofore unheard of," and "the attempts . . . on the part of the Federal Government to despoil the States of the powers and functions belonging to them." That this view is not based merely on a doctrine of States' rights is, moreover, evident from the fact that believers in the Parker doctrine, including Mr. Parker himself, are as ill disposed to commend the attempts of the States to control the railways and the corporations as to support the policy of the Federal Administration. All such attempts are, according to this view, to use a newspaper phrase, "throwing bombs at capital and sapping the foundations of the financial and commercial structure." This view is essentially critical; it is not constructive, because, according to it, there is nothing to construct: whatever evils exist can best be remedied by a rest cure.

In contrast to this doctrine, indeed at the very opposite extreme, is what we have called the policy of extirpation. Of all the political leaders who advocate this policy Mr. Bryan is still the most conspicuous. The formation of great railway corporations, directing immense railway lines, he regards not as a legitimate development, but as a dangerous overgrowth; and huge combinations created for the manufacture and distribution of widely used products he regards not as beneficent industrial institutions, whose evils are incidental, but as essentially malignant concerns to be broken up or crushed. Anything that is favored by the railways is bad for the people; anything that promotes the formation of great "trusts" is pernicious. Personally, he hopes the time will come when the States and the Nation will put the railway corporations out of existence, and will take their place as owners of railway lines and operators of railway trains. As for the trusts, he would have them extirpated "root and branch." As he said in his Madison Square Garden speech a year ago, when he announced his belief in Government ownership of railways, "I deny that the trust is an institution made necessary for economic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

progress." Since then Mr. Bryan has, in other terms, expressed not only his opposition to great corporations as such, but also his disbelief in any attempt to control them except by extermination.

Opposed alike to the Parker doctrine of inaction and the Bryan doctrine of extirpation is the Roosevelt doctrine of regulation. According to this doctrine, of which the President is the most conspicuous advocate, agreements and combinations among railways and industrial corporations are, on the one hand, not essentially evil, but, on the other, are not to be allowed to remain unchecked or uncontrolled; it is the business of the Government so to regulate them as to avert their real though incidental evils while preserving them as great agencies for civilization. From the point of view of the believer in the Bryan doctrine, the policy of regulation is hardly to be distinguished from that of inaction. Thus, to quote once more from his speech in New York, Mr. Bryan said: "Those who are friends of private monopoly will insist upon stringent regulations, and then they will try to regulate the regulators and prevent the regulation from going into effect." And only last week, in his paper, The Commoner, he declared that in urging a policy of Federal regulation the President "yields to the entreaties of the railroads," and that this policy is in the interest of the railroads and not of the public.

From the point of view of believers in the Parker doctrine, on the other hand, the policy of regulation seems like dangerous radicalism not to be distinguished from the doctrine of Mr. Bryan. Thus, time and again, in speeches, letters, and editorial articles, Mr. Roosevelt's and Mr. Bryan's names are coupled, as if their policies were the same. As a matter of fact, the policy of the present Administration, whether one agrees with it or not, is as far from one extreme as it is from another. Whether it is regarded as a mere half-way policy or as a policy of even-handed justice, it is not a policy of extremes; whether one regards its qualities as defects or as virtues, they are the qualities of a middle course.

A careful comparison of Mr. Roosevelt's and Mr. Taft's speeches, which The Outlook reported last week, the one at Provincetown, the other at Columbus, reveals the fact that though both speeches were in defense of the policy of regulation, they were directed to meet attacks from opposite quarters. Mr. Roosevelt, though incidentally abjuring the policy of extirpation, argued mainly for the right and the necessity of governmental intervention; in other words, he directed his words to those, mainly within his own party, who are inclined to a policy of inaction. Mr. Taft, on the other side, though incidentally abjuring the policy of inaction, argued mainly for a constructive, as against a destructive, policy; in other words, he directed his words to those, mainly in the other party, who are inclined to a policy of extirpation. The Constitutional aspects of this policy Judge Amidon discusses in his article on another page.

If the American people are to decide wisely upon this issue, they should, and we believe they will, keep clearly in mind the difference between inaction, extirpation, and regulation.

❀

A Check on Postal Efficiency

The main ground on which application of civil service rules to the postal service has come to be accepted so generally is an acknowledged increase in efficiency. There are two things, however, often overlooked, which should be emphasized in this connection. The first is that if all postmasters were always selected for business capacity the efficiency of the service would be vastly increased, and the business character of the method far more convincingly vindicated. When a postmastership is filled for political rather than for business reasons, the efficiency of the service must suffer appreciably. Fortunately, however, it is a fact that the element of efficiency is coming more and more to have weight in the selection of postmasters. A signal instance of this was shown in the recent appointment of Mr. Morgan to the most important post-office in the country. It is also true

75454
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the great majority of salaried post-office workers show wonderful skill and rapidity, and have not a little *esprit de corps;* if any one doubts this, let him watch the work in a railway postal car, or look into the international sea postal service, or see the startling precision and rapidity of the distributing clerks in the New York Post-Office. The second thing referred to above to be remembered is that the original reason for inaugurating the merit system was to take the postal service out of politics. This is a gain in purity of politics worth its cost even if the change temporarily impaired the efficiency of the service.

Some postmasters, however, are still chosen and retained for political instead of business reasons. The present problem is, then, to make the postal service as efficient as possible while some heads of post-offices are politicians rather than business men. One evident way in which to accomplish this is to throw the responsibility for efficiency upon the postmaster. In so far as a postmaster's responsibility is minimized he is shielded from criticism for inefficient service. No postmaster—at least none who is a politician—will feel this sense of responsibility if he is deprived of the power of removal. Under the merit system, which in theory retains good employees (many of these, with others, having been formerly removed under the spoils system whenever a new postmaster was appointed), not a few employees continue in the service after their usefulness has ceased—employees who, though they might be pensioned, would not be thus retained in a rightly conducted private business. This is often because the postmaster lacks absolute power of dismissal, as his reasons for a dismissal must be submitted to the department at Washington. Consequently, when the question is merely one of inefficiency, the postmaster has an excuse for inaction, an excuse to appeal to the average man, that inefficiency is hard to prove and ungracious to allege. The manufacturing or mercantile enterprise whose foremen were, before removing an employee for inefficiency, obliged to file detailed charges with the management, would not be expected to hold its own with competitors. Yet this is exactly the position in which a postmaster is placed under the merit system as administered. When the postmaster is involved in politics, and finds it an important thing not to make unnecessary enemies, the temptation to retain inefficient employees on the ground that he has not a free hand is hard to resist.

Since average postmasters, unfortunately, have to consider their political affiliations, the merit system should be administered to encourage them to discharge rather than to retain undesirable employees. As they have not the power of putting their own favorites in place of the employees they discharge, but must choose successors to such discharged employees from a list of eligibles furnished from Washington, they have no motive to make discharges except the good of the service. The occasional case of possible injustice to worthy employees is not to be taken into consideration as against the resulting increase in efficiency. Not only would the service be rid of inefficient employees, but all employees would feel the stimulus of discipline. They would at once be spurred to do their best in order to retain their places. There would thus, also, be eliminated the demoralizing effects of political interposition at Washington in behalf of a politician's favorites, of which there are, under the present system, rare instances. To cite such an instance, the postmaster of a leading city discharged a letter-carrier for drunkenness. Under the right of appeal to Washington, the discharged man was kept in his place through the "pull" of a United States Senator to whom that employee had been a valuable "henchman." How could the postmaster maintain the morale of his staff with this object-lesson before all eyes of his inability to remove even for unquestioned cause, not to speak of his inability to remove for simple inefficiency?

Until the average postmaster feels that he, and he alone, is responsible for the character of the service rendered to the public, because he, and he alone, is responsible for the character of his employees, the postal service of many cities will continue to be inefficient.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The system of divided and indefinite responsibility is a survival from days preceding the development of modern business methods. Contrary to the principles of successful business, it is no less contrary to the forward movement in municipal government, which seeks more and more a method of reorganizing municipal business under a few heads and of throwing the responsibility upon the man at the head, he to stand or fall by the results of his own administration. The paramount reform needed in the postal service is, of course, the selection of all postmasters for business capacity alone. But until the people are convinced of the necessity of that reform, the efficiency of the postal service can be vastly increased by giving to each postmaster the absolute right to dismiss almost all, if not all, of his subordinates. Thus alone can be brought home to each head of a post-office responsibility before the community for efficient administration.

❀

Silence

This earth is so full of voices that we sometimes need silence in order to listen to them. What we call silence is not the negation of sound; it is merely the cessation of those sounds that are gross enough to reach our outward sense. In this matter we can speak only relatively; absolute silence is what we can never know. On the stillest day the processes of nature make some sound, guessed at rather than heard; in the deepest dungeon, immured as in a grave, there is still the beating of our own hearts. But we do not intend a literal accuracy when we speak of silence. What we mean is the retirement of all rude and aggressive noises, the stilling even of "heard melodies," that we may listen to those unheard melodies that are sweeter. We mean the ceasing of words between two friends when they pass to a communion that is closer—the stillness of autumn when the least fluttering of a detached leaf is audible—the stillness of a seashore when the peaceful lap of a wave may only at times be heard among the crags. Such silence is not the stagnation of a pool, it is the flow of a river. The rushes bow to it and whisper; the trees, the hillocks, the grasses, are reflected in it. We glance into its depths and see our own images; a word is as a stone thrown in, ruffling the surface with widening and subsiding circles. Silence like this is not privation or nothingness; it is a great consoling gift that visits us in our better moments.

There is a sense, of course, in which true silence is independent of sound and its cessation; it may be enjoyed in the heart of a tempest or experienced amid the turbulence of a crowd. The capacity for silence is largely in ourselves; it can be cultivated, or it can be neglected and stultified. Only a few attain such mastery as to possess their souls amid the chattering of fools; only a few become independent of outward circumstance. It is only in rare moments that "we are laid asleep in body and become a living soul;" and such moments usually come when external things are propitious—in the hush of a glorious sunset, it may be, or amid the breathing stillnesses of tree and grass and flower.

Silence, or a grand triumphing of sound—the two are almost one in their significance; both are full of pregnant communications. It is the petty noises of life that are wearisome and distracting, the idle babble and the base jarring of selfish strife or the vanity of social affectations. These are the things that stop our ears and render us dumb. It is sacred silence that unseals our tongue, giving us something that is worth the utterance, delivering us from the thralldom of much talking, introducing us to the wide spaces where words become fit though few. He who loves to hear his own voice in concert with other nimble and fatuous tongues will resort where such things are the fashion, and where to sit silent is the deadly offense. He will go where speech is really what the Frenchman described it—a contrivance for concealing one's thoughts. It might be easy to add that in such cases there are no thoughts to conceal; but we need not do injustice to our fellows by a cheap cynicism. There are thoughts and feelings, only that persons are banded

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

together in a conspiracy not to utter them. It is for this reason that social circles dread a moment's quietness: silence loosens the mask and reveals too many secrets. Speech may be a garb of nothingness, it is true, but it may also be a veil of thought and emotion that the world thinks it prudent to secrete. He who has thoughts that he wishes to conceal must beware of the blabbing qualities of silence. Let him trust to the idle chatter that betrays no confidences.

We go to the stillnesses of nature when we wish to fill our ears with the truest music. It was in silence, Wordsworth tells us, that the "voice of mountain torrents" was carried into the heart of the listening boy. In the woodlands, even when birds and winds are silent, there is a constant motion of life that reaches to our consciousness, though it escapes the actual hearing; nothing that lives can be completely still. The gamut of sound that touches the sensuous ear is limited, but there is an infinitude of sound beyond of which we may yet be conscious. Who can suppose that the whirling of our globe through space is noiseless? The thunder and the thrill of its motion surpass the limit of our senses. Our hearing, as our sight, is strictly relative; there are some that hear and some that see more than others, but the degree of differing can only be slight compared with the untold resources of the unheard and the unseen. It is enough for us truly to see and truly to hear that which is possible to us, not to bandage our eyes and stuff our ears with wax. We may dream of another state in which there shall be a fuller seeing and a fuller hearing; but we shall do wisely to exhaust those that we have before we crave better. We have enough to go on with. The rustle of leaves and grass, the ripple of water, have not yet told us all that they have to say; there are still depths to be reached by the twilight singing of a leaf-embowered blackbird, the twittering of a thrush, the rapture of a skylark. The vast and deep breathing of night has a marvelous counterpoint of interwoven themes, and more sounds than the science books have yet accounted for. Who shall say that we have yet explored the resources of audible sounds; and what of those that abide in the "vasty halls" of silence?

❀

The Spectator

The Spectator has been spending the summer largely in the companionship of a phœbe-bird. Humble companionship? Well, perhaps the phœbe-bird found it so. The Spectator was much edified. They moved into the old white house together, precisely on the same day. Both of them being, as it turned out, rather non-committal individuals, they had not heard of each other's intentions, and the surprise with which they discovered each other was quite mutual.

"Well, I'm dashed!" said the phœbe-bird, plainly and none too politely, as she paused on the edge of the piazza, with her mouth full of straws, and looked at the Spectator.

"Madam"—the Spectator made a low bow—"I also am—pardon me—surprised. But enchanted, madam, I do assure you, unequivocally charmed and delighted. You could not do me a greater favor than to continue your residence. The place is quite at your service."

❀

All which suavity was a great waste of time on the part of the Spectator, as well as a serious lack of tact. He should have said: "Madam, if you have no immediate use for the inner rooms adjoining your piazza post, would you be so very kind as to let me occupy them?" However, they presently settled down into a comfortable understanding, without the need of any elaborate explanations or any politeness whatever; and, as that is the way things should be, they established a model friendship.

❀

There could not have been an environment better suited to tranquil intercourse than just this same old white house which the phœbe-bird and the Spectator occupied together. It stood by the side of a country road, looking out from under its maple-trees across a broad

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meadow to folding hills, beautiful, shadow-swept, light-hung hills, gates of the dawn and moonrise. Around the old house were flower-beds, blossoming everywhere, and behind it an orchard of gnarled apple-trees climbed the slope of a little hill. The Spectator lay on his back in the grass, an old book neglected on one side, a new writing-pad ignored on the other, and tasted true heart's content.

❀

The phœbe-bird was not so lazily-minded, however—not she! Back and forth, in and out, she flew all day long, weaving her snug little home on the top of the pillar inside the piazza. It was certainly not from lack of desire that the Spectator did not assist her, but only because of his stupid incompetence. Not she herself, nor her lordly mate, who sometimes made an elaborate display of bringing her one horse-hair, felt a deeper satisfaction of pleasure when the nest was finished than the attentive Spectator. He climbed up and poked an inquiring finger into the soft, warm, comforting round of the little home (his very finger felt mothered and cheered), and smiled when he touched an egg.

❀

But, alas! the Spectator has a bad habit of neglecting to advertise his affections. For the most part, the habit, being his own, suits him well enough; but now and then it brings fatal results.

"I've took down that nasty bird's nest for you," his housekeeper informed him cheerfully as he came down to breakfast one morning. "I knew you wouldn't want to be bothered with it."

The Spectator actually did not dare to make any sort of reply. He strode out through the piazza door and stood in despairing apology before the dismantled pillar, his stern back to the housekeeper.

"Silly!" The phœbe-bird smoothed her feathers, recovering from her late perturbation. "Do you suppose I think it's your fault? It is unfortunate—why, yes, of course; but another nest can be built, you know, and other eggs can be laid."

And there, before the Spectator's eyes, she set to work on another pillar, in all possible haste.

❀

Haste, did one say? There never was such a nest-building as that in all phœbe-bird annals. The Spectator collected ravelings of all the fabrics the house afforded; the repentant housekeeper brought locks of her hair; a pile of assorted materials lay constantly at the foot of the pillar, and the phœbe-bird worked and worked. In a week the second nest was done, and an egg was laid in it. Difficulty, however, was in the stars for the phœbe-bird this summer. The sun began to beat in at the end of the piazza all too fervently. "Very well," said the Spectator; "we'll put up the porch curtains." He went for the step-ladder, hammer, and nails, took the curtain in hand to begin operations, then suddenly laid all his tools aside and sat down thoughtfully. The phœbe-bird's nest was on the piazza's sunny side; the curtains, when properly put in place, would barricade her completely. What to do? The Spectator thought he could hardly forego the curtains all summer, yet he was very sure he could not see the phœbe-bird's hope frustrated again; he mused in perplexity. Finally he went into the house and returned with a large knife. He mounted the ladder (the phœbe-bird was fortunately off in the orchard), cut the nest out very carefully, and transferred it to another pillar where there were to be no curtains. To make all secure—as secure as one might, being a mere man—he smeared the top of the pillar with library paste and set the nest firmly upon it. Then he resumed his hammer and nails and put up the porch curtains.

❀

When the phœbe-bird returned that night, there were a few very trying moments during which the brown wings beat distractedly about one end of the piazza and the Spectator watched anxiously from an adjoining window. How was he going to let her know? Should he have painted a large hand, pointing the way across the piazza? But sud-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

denly there was an astonished pause, a bewildered stare, a swift darting; she had found her nest. She looked her egg over, cuddled down with her familiar, charming motions of home-keeping and protection, and accepted the marvelous situation with no apparent reluctance. Brave little heart, how generously trustful of life! Would the Spectator have made no demur if he had come home some evening and found his house on the other side of the road?

❀

Interesting episodes in the life of the brown little comrade are too numerous for the length of these columns. The Spectator was almost daily aroused to thoughtful observation. There was the morning when two great babies decided to fly during the absence of their mother. The Spectator was witness of their preparation, dismay, reluctance, and resolution, as they finally launched themselves forth. They were silently clutching a twig in the orchard, spent and aghast, when their mother returned to the empty nest with her mouth full of flies. Horrors! She could not believe her senses. She balanced herself on the edge of the nest, twitching her tail, looking all about her; then she flew down and returned again, as if the manner of her approach might have something to do with the difficulty. When at last she accepted the situation in all its distressing complexity, she restrained herself from her mounting despair until she had swallowed the flies. That frugal and economical action interested the Spectator. Disaster may overtake the world, but precious flies are not to be wasted in crises of the spirit. Then, with a shriek, she dashed out in the orchard, all her feathers standing on end, quite beside herself with terror.

❀

Both phœbe-bird and Spectator were frightened pretty thoroughly one softly flowing day in July, when, in the midst of their dreamy repose—she aloft on her second brood, he be-mused in a book below—an automobile dashed up to their gate and a bevy of laughing people streamed in upon them.

"You see we have tracked you down in your lair, you incorrigible hermit! No, no, you can't escape us now; so give us a pretty welcome."

The Spectator recovered himself at once, and proffered the right hand of hospitality in haste, but the phœbe-bird sped from her nest and clung to the limb of an apple-tree.

"Who are they? Take them away at once!" she implored, she commanded.

"You would find this chair more comfortable," the Spectator urged one of his guests who had seated herself at the foot of the nest-crowned pillar.

"Thank you, no, this does very well. Sit down; I want to talk to you."

❀

Now, the Spectator could not ordinarily have asked anything better of fate than to obey these commands, but to-day his attention was quite distracted by the distress of the phœbe-bird. Fluttering over the big-plumed hat that held the base of her pillar, she made valiant attempts to return to her nest, but always her courage failed her, and she retreated to her twig, lamenting bitterly. The Spectator does not know what answers, random and inopportune, he may have returned to his fair interlocutress, but he was presently taken to task for his inadvertence.

"Well, since you are not interested to give me your attention, you may as well go. Living in the country does not improve the deportment, does it?"

"Ah, pardon me!" the Spectator burst out in genuine mortification. "It's that little bird. Don't you hear her wings? She's afraid to come back to her nest. If you will only sit over here, I'll listen to you forever."

❀

It is autumn now, and the phœbe-bird's nest has stood empty many a day. The Spectator misses his little comrade. She comes back now and then to look in on him, balancing on the edge of the step, jerking her tail up and down. But for the most part she lives abroad, in the orchard, in the garden. It is to be hoped that another year will find her returning to her old haunts. The Spectator knows of no better home than the old white house.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CORPORATIONS

BY CHARLES F. AMIDON

Judge of the District Court of the United States, District of North Dakota

The following article is the latter part of a paper read before the American Bar Association at Portland, Maine, on Monday of last week. The first part of Judge Amidon's penetrating and illuminating address was a discussion of the principles which underlie the interpretation of the Federal Constitution. Constitutional theory and Constitutional practice, Judge Amidon pointed out, are not precisely the same. On the one hand, the Supreme Court has declared: "The Constitution is a written instrument; as such its meaning does not alter. That which it meant when adopted it means now." That is the theory. On the other hand, Mr. James Bryce has said: "The Americans have more than once bent their Constitution in order that they might not be forced to break it." That is the practice. Even Judge Cooley, the highest authority on Constitutional law, has himself expressed these two contradictory views of the Constitution. "A constitution," Judge Amidon quotes Judge Cooley as saying, "is not to be made to mean one thing at one time and another at some subsequent time, when the circumstances may have so changed as perhaps to make a different rule in the same case seem desirable." "No instrument," Judge Cooley is again quoted as saying, "can be the same in meaning to-day and forever in all men's minds. As the people change, so does their written constitution change also." The Nation has been wiser than the partisans of either our theory or our practice. In utter disregard of nice logical consistency, it has insisted upon combining them both, and in their union has found that mingling of flux and permanence which constitutes the living principle of every great historic nation. The growth of democratic sentiment and powers has been steadied in this country by the restraining influence of a written instrument that has corresponded to the restraining influence exerted in older countries by custom and tradition. Impatience with the limits of the Constitution is a baneful heresy; but it is intensified and not mollified by insistence upon the doctrine that the Constitution speaks the same meaning yesterday, to-day, and forever.

A Constitution capable of change is necessary. A changeless Constitution becomes the protector not only of vested rights but of vested wrongs. Modification of the Constitution by interpretation is equally necessary. It is often still argued that if the Constitution is to be changed it must be done in a manner which the instrument itself provides for its amendment. To say that, however, is to say that it shall not be changed at all. The only amendments secured out of the two thousand which have been proposed since the period of the adoption of the Constitution were the product of fierce passion; and even they have not been interpreted without violence to the language in which they were expressed. The most impressive lesson taught by the war amendments is that the Constitution cannot be amended in the manner which it provides except as the result of passions which wholly disqualify the Nation for the work of Constitutional amendment. Change by interpretation is the only practicable method.

The Constitution is not so fragile as to be in danger from this mode of alteration. It has withstood a century of change by interpretation. As the late Justice Miller stated to a company of judges and lawyers at St. Paul a short time before his death, "The great questions of Constitutional law are not to be finally settled by nine men, however wise, taking them off into a room and reading and studying about them. That is the way we start the process. We place the decision the best we can according to that light, and then see how it works in its actual application to the National life. Very frequently that illumination shows us that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we have gone too far to one side of the true line. With this instruction of experience we place the next case on the other side, and observe its application, and so on, from time to time adding to our thought and study the results of experience and observation, we finally evolve the true solution by a process of exclusion and inclusion. The meaning of the Constitution is to be sought as much in the National life as in the dictionary."

Moreover, much of the so-called interpretation is not strictly the interpretation of the Constitution. Now that the questions of government are becoming so largely economic, the majority of our so-called Constitutional cases turn, not upon the interpretation of the instrument itself, but upon the construction of the living conditions to which it is to be applied. Those who would not question the ability of a court to interpret the Constitution wisely, might well feel that in some cases it can fall into grievous error in its interpretation of life. Constitutional questions are thus often determined upon notions of life entertained by judges which are at variance with both popular and legislative judgment. As a result, this practice sometimes gives us government out of the law library, which, as Napoleon said, is the worst of all forms of government. The courts are not a part of the Administration; but they are a part of the Nation, and in the past have responded, and ought always to respond, to the deep, abiding, organic changes in the National life. This, in brief summary, but largely in his own words, is the argument by which Judge Amidon reaches the point from which the following article proceeds.—THE EDITORS.

THERE never was a time when the interpretation of the Constitution required a more careful consideration of living conditions than to-day. Within the last fifty years economic forces have been introduced into our life that are as revolutionary of pre-existing conditions as the introduction of gunpowder was of the state of feudalism. Seward's statement in the debate of 1850 that "Commerce is the god of boundaries, and no man now living can tell its ultimate decree," is far more true at present than when it was uttered. When the Constitution was adopted, the unit of our social and business life was the commonwealth. With the exception of the foreign and coasting trade, the commerce and industry of each State was confined to its own borders. The Union was political instead of industrial or commercial. To-day our industry and our commerce are National. They are made aware of State lines only by conflicting and often narrowly selfish enactments. The units of commercial and industrial organization extend to many States, often to the entire Nation. Instead of being required to obey one master, business is compelled to obey many. Coincident with this enlargement of business enterprise to embrace different States, has occurred a revolution in State activity. During the first half of the nineteenth century the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was the fundamental principle of government. The State left commerce and industry to private control. To-day that is all changed. Government is now present in all lines of business. When the State regulated but little, business was not much concerned who did the regulating. But now that all governments are competing in their zeal for regulation, whether one government or many, the Nation or the States, shall do the regulating, becomes a matter of paramount importance. These changed conditions in our actual life compel a reconsideration of our divided governmental authority to see what now belongs to the Nation and what to the State's authority. The problem is not the same as it was; it cannot be answered by reading history or studying precedents.

The new condition has manifested itself most conspicuously in two fields, the railway and the inter-State industrial corporation. At the beginning the railways were local. There was a time when in making a shipment of freight from New York to Buffalo at least three different bills of lading were required. Now five great systems embody more than three-fourths of the total mileage of the country, and the work of consolidation is still in progress. There are no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

longer State roads, but all are instruments of inter-State commerce. Actual statistics are wanting, but persons in a position to know are of the opinion that the local business of the railways does not exceed fifteen per cent of their entire traffic. In a case tried in one of our Western States a few years ago it was judicially found that the local business there involved amounted to less than three per cent. In the face of these conditions it is impossible to maintain over common carriers the manifold control of the different States and the Federal Government.

There is no way in which local business can be separated from through business. The same roadbed serves both; both are carried in the same train and by the same crew. Back of every schedule of rates prescribed by government is the question, Are those rates reasonably compensatory? Under our present system that question as to State rates must be decided solely upon local business, and as to inter-State rates solely upon inter-State business. The court cannot look to the entire traffic in judging of the reasonableness of either. While it is possible to ascertain what revenue is derived from each class, it is absolutely impossible thus to distribute the cost of operation and maintenance. The evidence upon that subject is wholly speculative and conjectural, consisting entirely of opinion testimony given by parties having a vital interest in the result of the litigation. In actual operation the railways do not and cannot keep the two kinds of commerce separate. Why, then, should the law attempt to divide that which in actual life is a unit and indivisible?

Whenever a State prescribes a schedule of rates for local business, it thereby directly and necessarily regulates inter-State business as well. There can be no sudden lifts and falls at State lines. They have no relation whatever to the cost of service and can afford no justification for discrimination in rates. As the result of the schedule of rates prescribed by the State of Minnesota during the past winter, the rates on the western side of an invisible line were from twenty-five to fifty per cent higher than those on the eastern side. The railways could not maintain both these rates without discriminating against North Dakota points in a manner which would constitute a gross violation of that portion of the Inter-State Commerce Act which forbids discrimination against any locality. The necessary result of the enforcement of the local rates was to compel a reduction of all through rates. This the Supreme Court has decided is such a direct interference with inter-State commerce as to render the action of the State void. But, further, if one State may prescribe a schedule of rates, all States may, and the inevitable result of such a practice is to place the whole body of inter-State commerce under the actual domination of State laws. In that way the authority which extends to only fifteen per cent of the business regulates the entire business. The necessary consequence is that either the Nation must take control of commerce within the States or the States will take control of commerce among the States.

The chief domestic cause for the adoption of the Constitution was to destroy the power of States over inter-State commerce. But does not their control of railways re-establish that authority? To say that States shall not regulate commerce among the States, and at the same time concede to them power to regulate the only instrumentalities by which that commerce is carried on, is to establish in practice what we deny in theory. Hitherto State regulation has been inefficient, and for that reason alone its localizing power has not become manifest. But now, through the investigations of economists and commissions, the general campaign of publicity, experience in rate litigation, the decreased influence of railways over legislative bodies, there has come a new era in governmental regulation of carriers. State authority is becoming organized, energetic, and effective. If continued, it will work its inevitable results. In commerce as in politics, State governments will represent State interests. No rivalry can surpass that of our commercial centers, and the States in which they are located, let their power over carriers become effective, will exercise that power

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in support of their own cities. This is not theory. Only recently the Commission of one of our most aggressive Western States warned the railways by a written communication that if they were not more considerate of the State as to inter-State rates, the Commission would retaliate by the exercise of its powers over local affairs. Other Commissions, while not thus frank in their avowals, have been equally local in their practices. The severest critic of railways cannot deny that their policy has been splendidly National, and the most potent single factor in the creation of our vast domestic commerce. In thus maintaining the commercial supremacy of the Nation, they have been compelled to withstand the importunities and fierce wrath of local interests. Now, however, the conflict is to be transferred from this field of economics to the field of government. Localism is to speak, not by petition, but by statute. Under this régime, as governmental control increases in efficiency, the irrepressible conflict between local and National interests will increase in directness as well as in the frequency of its exhibition and the intensity of the passions aroused. It has already brought us to the verge of civil war in North Carolina, and been the occasion of the sharpest acrimony in other States. Such a conflict must in the end result in the complete supremacy of one authority or the other.

It is vain to appeal to States, as did Secretary Root in his New York address, to subordinate local advantage to the general welfare. Our whole history is a confirmation of the statement of Mr. Pinckney, in the Constitutional Convention, that "States pursue their interests with less scruple than individuals." They exhibit all that lack of conscience characteristic of those who exercise delegated power. As Justice Miller points out in his lectures on the Constitution, had it not been for the dominant authority of the central government, the general welfare would have been as completely sacrificed to local selfishness under the Constitution as it was under the Articles of Confederation. What States require is not exhortation but authority.

The situation in the field of industry presents the same general features. To abolish local control over matters extending outside of the State was the origin not only of the article conferring power on the National Government to regulate commerce among the States, but also of those provisions which forbid States to lay imposts or duties on exports or imports, and which secure to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States. These restrictions were placed in the Constitution not so much that men might be free as that National commerce and industry might be free. They have been largely nullified in actual life by the fact that business is now carried on by corporations instead of persons. When the Constitution was adopted, only twenty-one corporations had been formed in the United States. These were mainly for the construction of canals and turnpikes. There were but one bank and two trading companies. As business agencies corporations had no part either in life or thought; consequently they had no place in the Constitution. The Supreme Court has held that they are not citizens within the meaning of the Fifth Amendment, and that each State may either wholly exclude them, or impose as conditions of their entering or remaining in the State such terms as local policy or interest may suggest. The result is that business which was intended to be free has, in fact, become subject to local authority. The abuses of corporate organization and management have heretofore commended this exercise of local control. Ultimately, however, we shall become increasingly aware of its injustice and folly. Business cannot be conducted in this century except through the agency of corporations; but the very enlargement of that agency has caused industry, the same as commerce, to overleap the bounds of States, and thus become subject to governments whose only interest in them is that of the publican. "Federal," "National," "Union," "United States," "International," "American," these terms find a place in the names of the corporations that are carrying on our large business enterprises, and are not mere high-sounding

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

titles, but are truly indicative of the scope of the business conducted. They have taken National titles because their business is national and international. While engaged in the preparation of this paper I employed three young men in different libraries to examine and summarize State laws passed since 1890, directed against foreign corporations solely upon the ground of their alienage. My purpose was to institute a comparison between laws of that character now in force, and discriminatory statutes passed by the several States under the Articles of Confederation. But the mass of material turned in by these investigators was so great as to surpass any leisure at my command for its study and classification. The reports, however, leave no room for doubt that the laws now in force are both more vicious in character and varied in form than were those of the earlier period. At that time discrimination was confined in the main to taxation by States having ports of entry against those which had them not. To-day they embrace not only double and frequently manifold taxation, but the thousand forms of regulation which recent governmental activity in the field of business has developed. A condition which was then deemed sufficient to cause the framing and adopting of the Constitution ought now to be adequate to compel the exercise of the power which the Constitution vested in the Federal Government for the very purpose of controlling such conditions.

How far may the National Government go in the control of those matters which have become in fact National? The situation fits exactly the terms of the resolution passed in the Convention that framed the Constitution, which was the source of all the powers and restrictions embodied in that instrument. It presents a case "to which the separate States are incompetent and in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation." As to railways, there is no more reason why they should be subject to a divided authority than there is in the case of navigation. There will, of course, be in the one case, as in the other, local matters that can be best dealt with by local authority. But as to all that affects them as commercial agencies, whether that commerce be local or inter-State, the railway is a unit; its activities are National, and it ought to be subject solely to National authority. Divided control is inefficient in protecting the public, and grossly unjust in the burdens which it places upon the carrier. During the last winter there were passed in the States west of the Mississippi River one hundred and seventy-eight statutes dealing directly with transportation and its instrumentalities. The number of such statutes now in force throughout the entire country extends well into the thousands. They are conflicting, oppressive, inefficient. They seldom represent intelligent investigation, but in the main have had their origin in agitation, often in popular frenzy. State legislatures have not yet learned that due process of legislation, like due process of law, proceeds upon inquiry, and legislates only after hearing. Protection to the public and justice to the carrier alike unite in the demand for a single governmental control. The power under the commerce clause of the Constitution is plain. The decisions of the Supreme Court have placed that subject beyond the realm of controversy. If the railway as an instrument of commerce can only be dealt with justly and efficiently by a single authority, the Federal Government may assert and maintain its exclusive jurisdiction. Regulation is now inefficient because divided. If the Federal Government shall take exclusive control, it will then be responsible alone for such a control as shall be both efficient and just. Public opinion will have a single point for its direction, and will not be dissipated among many conflicting authorities. The subject does not demand separate rules for the separate States. Their action refutes such a doctrine. By the legislation of the past winter Virginia and Ohio, Pennsylvania and Minnesota, are combined in the same passenger rate, though they vary as five to one in density of population and travel. The subject is National, and the Federal Government with its National outlook can, by organized investigation and accumulated experience, best acquire the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

skill and knowledge necessary for its just and efficient regulation.

As to inter-State industrial corporations, the subject is of much more recent development, and the necessity for Federal control is less urgent. It may well happen that many of the abuses in this field will disappear with the abolition of rebates and the other special privileges which such corporations have enjoyed at the hands of carriers. The evil arising from hostile State enactments may be remedied by a change of emphasis on this subject in the decisions of the Supreme Court. Heretofore that tribunal has been governed in such cases solely by a consideration of the nature of the corporate being. But the present tendency in corporate law is to look at rights rather than the nature of the being possessing them, and if the court shall adopt that view, it may yet hold that alienage alone is not a proper basis for discriminatory legislation; that legislation based solely upon that ground constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws. The late case of American Smelting Company *versus* Colorado affords encouragement to expect such a change.

If, however, Federal control shall be found necessary to correct the evils and protect the rights of inter-State industrial corporations, authority for its exercise exists in the commerce clause of the Constitution as already interpreted. It has been decided by the highest court that "the power to regulate commerce among the several States is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in a single government having in its constitution the same restrictions as are found in the Constitution of the United States." That court has also held that, as a means of executing this authority, Congress may create corporations for the purpose of carrying on inter-State commerce. One branch of that commerce is traffic or exchange among the several States; and if National corporations may be created for the purpose of carrying on that branch of inter-State commerce which consists of transportation, as was done in the case of the Pacific Railroads, the same method may be adopted as to the other branch of inter-State commerce which consists of traffic and exchange. Can a corporation created for this purpose be also authorized to produce the articles in which it deals? In thought manufacture and commerce may be separated, but in business the former is always combined with the latter. No one ever manufactured except for the purpose of sale. Under the present régime of wide markets, large sales, and small profits, commerce has become the paramount feature even of manufacturing enterprises. The incidental powers which Congress may confer upon a corporation created for Federal purposes were clearly defined in the litigation arising out of the United States Banks. There the Federal feature was the collecting and disbursing of the National revenue. But to accomplish this result a corporation was created, authorized to do a general banking business and to establish branches for that purpose in the several States. Of the actual business transacted, the Federal feature, though of capital importance to the Nation, was a subordinate function of the corporation as a business concern. The opposition of the States was largely grounded upon this consideration. It was denied that they were Federal agents. A resolution by the Legislature of Ohio put the matter plainly: "We resist the shaving shops of a club of foreigners located among us without our consent." But the power of the Federal Government to create the bank and to exempt it from all local authority as to its entire business was vindicated in the fullest measure. Under the National Bank Act this authority has been carried much further. Usury and its consequences have been defined, and all State criminal statutes affecting the transactions of these banks, or their agents or officers, have been held null and void. Now apply these well-established doctrines to corporations created for the purpose of carrying on that branch of inter-State commerce which consists of traffic and exchange. Would they not fully sustain the authority of Congress to confer upon such corporations manufacturing as well as commercial powers? Would not the commercial activities of such a corporation which confessedly fall within the scope of the commerce clause of the Con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stitution greatly surpass in importance the functions of the United States Bank, which consisted in collecting and disbursing the public revenue? And if a bank created for that subordinate Federal function might be given the power of carrying on a general banking business, why could not a corporation created for the purpose of carrying on inter-State commerce, which would be a capital feature of its business, be at the same time authorized to produce, either in whole or in part, the articles which it applied to that commerce? It is said that *carrying on* inter-State commerce is not the exercise of a Federal power, as was the collection and disbursement of the public revenue, and that is conceded; but *regulating* inter-State commerce is a Federal power, and a corporation created as a means of such regulation may be freed from all State action that will interfere with the purpose of its creation. Surely if Congress, as a means of regulating inter-State commerce, may create corporations to carry it on, it may endow them with all such powers as are fairly conducive to their success as business concerns, judged by the usual activities of corporations engaged in such commerce.

Our great corporations are now National in their character, and National and international in the scope of their operations. To regulate their formation is one of the most direct and efficient means of regulating their activities. For forty-five States to create corporations and the National Government to regulate their most important business cannot fail to result in inefficiency and conflict. Hitherto interests to be regulated have found advantage in the dual form of authority. It has enabled them to assert, whenever either authority attempted their regulation, that the power properly belonged to the other authority. We have now arrived at a state of knowledge and publicity which makes this kind of shuffling impossible. The nature of the subject to be regulated and not the shifting desires of the interests concerned must determine the place of authority.

Our first great economic conflict between the States and the Nation was waged over the subject of banking and finance. No sooner were we started under the Constitution than the need of a National agency in that field was discovered. But the local jealousy of the States prevented its establishment for more than seventy-five years. During that period we were subject to all the injury and confusion of wildcat banking under State authority. Banking and finance, however, were not more National at that time than commerce and industry have now become, and the same conflict is again presented in this new field. We can get along with divided authority to-day on these subjects, just as we got along with State bank notes. This Nation can stand almost anything. But it is the duty of government, in the exercise of its power, to create conditions which are not simply tolerable, but those which are most conducive to the general welfare. A uniform authority in the field of inter-State commerce and industry will be found as beneficent to-day as it was discovered to be in the field of finance and banking as the result of our first economic conflict. The problem of regulating these affairs has attained its present magnitude largely because the Federal Government has neglected to exercise its Constitutional power over the subject in the course of its development. Until the Inter-State Commerce Act was passed in 1887, the negative power of the courts was the only Federal control. Even by them till 1886 the States were sustained in their authority over inter-State as well as domestic rates of carriers. The truth is that the National Government has so long neglected its powers under the commerce clause of the Constitution that now, when it tardily takes up its duties, it is charged by the States with usurpation.

The political revolution of 1776 required the creation of a central political power because it gave rise to great political concerns that could not be provided for by the several States. To-day, as the result of an economic revolution quite as fundamental and far-reaching, there are certain great business interests that have become National in their character and extent which cannot be left to conflicting State authority. It is as unwise to stand timidly shrinking from the exercise of economic control now as it would have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been a century ago to hold back from the exercise of political power through the fears of those who dreaded an adequate National government. We ought to look squarely at the nature and extent of our commerce and industry. Are they National? Ought they to be regulated by one or by fifty different sovereignties? If in their nature and extent they are National, and, in justice to the public and the interests to be regulated, ought to be subject to a single authority, then we ought not to hold back from the exercise of the necessary power simply because it would add to the activities of the Federal Government. We cannot refrain from the exercise of necessary powers upon the ground that the Federal Government cannot perform the work wisely and efficiently without confessing that that Government is inadequate to perform the duties which the nature of things and the Constitution alike devolve upon it. If National industry and commerce ought not to be subject to the jealousies and local interests of the several States, there is no alternative but to devolve their regulation upon the Federal Government. Between these two forms of regulation we must make our choice. The election is not between National regulation and some ideally perfect scheme; it lies between the single authority of the Nation and the anarchy of the different States in combination with partial National control. The way, the duty, and the power are plain. Unless domestic conditions, such as in 1788 compelled the framing and adoption of the Constitution, shall be impotent to compel the exercise of those powers granted by it in order that things which are National in their nature and extent may be controlled by National authority, there must be such an extension, not of Constitutional power, but of the exercise of National powers already conferred, as shall bring National commerce and industry under the single authority of the Federal Government.

One hundred years ago those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution made "Consolidation" their cry of alarm. To-day those who oppose the control by the National Government of the business affairs that have become National raise the cry of "Centralization." The one cry is as foolish as the other. On both occasions the opposition is guilty of that highest political folly which consists in hanging to a theory regardless of changed conditions in life. Centralization has already taken place out there in the world of commerce and industry. The only question remaining is, Shall the Government take cognizance of the fact?

KOREA AND JAPAN AT THE HAGUE

BY ELBERT F. BALDWIN

Staff Correspondent of The Outlook at The Hague

THE Irish and the Egyptians threatened to send petitions for national recognition to the Second Hague Conference. The Albanians and Armenians have already made known to the President of the Conference their lamentable national conditions, begging him to describe them to the members in the hope that they may do something looking towards ultimate relief. The Georgians have sent a long address to the Conference, reciting the wrongs of two and a half millions of people. These represent the ancient kingdom of Georgia. Their memorial was originally signed by hundreds of men from all social classes. But no signatures are now affixed, for fear of deportation or worse by Russian officials.

More dramatic than any or all of these is the memorial to the Conference signed by Prince Yi-Ui-Tjyong, a Korean noble educated in France, Yi-Sang-Sul, ex-Vice-Premier of Korea, and Yi-Tjun, a Korean judge, who recently came to The Hague claiming to have credentials from the Emperor of Korea appointing them delegates to the Peace Conference. Their petition recites that in 1884 the independence of Korea was acknowledged

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by all the Powers, but that in 1905 Yi-Sang-Sul, one of the above-named three, being Vice-Premier, personally witnessed acts by Japan which defied the agreement of 1884 and other international rights, as well as Korea's own laws, in compelling, by force of arms, the signature by the Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, without the consent of Emperor or Cabinet, of a document giving to Japan control of Korean foreign relations. Now, as the signature of this document was extorted only by the violation of justice, and as diplomatic relations between Korea and the Powers cannot be interrupted as to Korea save by her own will, claim the three delegates, why may not they hope for the intervention of the members of the Conference, so that admittance to it may be granted to the Koreans, to defend there their rights and to expose the proceedings of the Japanese?

If the majority of the Korean millions in the "Land of the Morning Calm" had shown the energy displayed here, especially by Prince Yi, and, in particular, had the Korean sovereign been a man of kingly qualities, the nation might perhaps have become what Prince Yi would like it to be, the Montenegro, even the Switzerland, of the East. Japan versus Korea is, as he says, a case of the strong against the weak, but he doubtless recognizes also that his countrymen represent not only weakness in numbers, but, what is really to the point and infinitely pathetic, weakness in national will.

The Second Hague Conference has not found itself able to be of comfort to Koreans, Georgians, Albanians, and Armenians. The only possible answer to their petitions has been in quoting a passage from the invitation to the Conference of 1907: "As at the Conference of 1899, it remains understood that the deliberations . . . ought not to include either the political relations between nations or the order of things established by treaty, or, in general, the questions which do not directly enter into the programme."

The action of the Korean delegates was directly connected with the Korean Emperor's abdication. Hence it is of special interest to hear the Japanese side of the story. I therefore approached the highest authority on that subject outside of Japan or Korea, his Excellency Keiroku Tsudzuki, who fortunately happens to be here as the first Japanese delegate and ambassador to the Conferenee. First of all, Mr. Tsudzuki is a statesman of notable manner, for he combines, about as well as an Oriental can, what, as an Occidental, is combined in the manner of Sir Ernest Satow, the second British delegate and one who has lived long in Japan—namely, the effect of the influences of both East and West. But Mr. Tsudzuki is even more notable in matter than in manner. A son-in-law of Count Inouye, he is intimately connected with the "Elder Statesmen" and the traditions they represent—and these form the background and starting-ground for present-day Japanese policies. But Mr. Tsudzuki is none the less in touch with the immediate occasions for those policies, since he is Chief Secretary of the Imperial Privy Council. Before leaving Tokyo he had personal instructions from the Mikado.

Mr. Tsudzuki declared that "This Mr. Yi, who claims to be a Korean prince, is not of princely blood, and is spreading abroad entirely false information and ideas. I was in Korea at the time, and I can affirm that it was in the palace of the Korean Emperor himself, and with his consent, that the responsible Korean Minister signed the document which empowers Japan to direct Korea's foreign policy and to represent her in all questions of foreign politics."

"But does not Prince Yi claim that the document was never ratified by the Emperor of Korea?" I asked.

"If Mr. Yi pretends that this document has not the force of law because it was never ratified by the Emperor," answered Mr. Tsudzuki, "he knows perfectly well that such ratification is quite unnecessary. Our alliance treaty with England has not been so ratified, but it has all the force of a solemn treaty."

"Is it true, as has been claimed, that the Japanese searched, discovered, and affixed the Korean seal to the document,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

despite the Emperor's protests?" I ventured to ask.

"Of course," explained his Excellency, "the seal of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was in the Foreign Office, and not in the Imperial Palace. The Koreans therefore telephoned to the Foreign Office to bring over the seal to the Palace. Now the [ex-] Korean Emperor is a late riser, and stays up nearly all through the night. So that business which has to be conducted in the Palace is mostly done in the night hours. As it was then past midnight, it took some time before the seal was brought to the Palace. But after about an hour's waiting it was brought there by a *Korean* official. Now as to the Emperor's attitude. After the signature of the Treaty, Marquis Ito had an audience with the Emperor, when his Majesty was very gracious to him, and even thanked him in warmest terms 'for your efforts in settling such important negotiations so peacefully *and to the satisfaction of both parties*.' Marquis Ito came home about two o'clock in the morning, the Cabinet meeting at the Palace having commenced about eight o'clock of the previous evening."

"But how about the Emperor's reported denial to Marquis Ito that any Korean delegates had been empowered to go to the Hague Conference?" I inquired.

Mr. Tsudzuki's deliberate and evidently studied reply was: "Judging from the duplicity of the Emperor's character, it is quite possible that he has openly denied the whole Hague affair. But the frightened precipitation with which the Koreans obliged him to abdicate, before the arrival of our Foreign Minister at Seoul, makes me feel that there must have been some tangible evidence of his duplicity, which, even with Korean ingenuity, was perfectly undeniable and which induced the Koreans to forestall and bar all further Japanese demands by means of a self-imposed apology in the form of a voluntary abdication."

It seems almost incredible to people here that a few bigots in San Francisco and the yellow press of America and Japan could disturb the frank friendship which has existed between the two countries ever since Commodore Perry sailed into the harbor of Yokohama, half a century ago. But in view of the actual situation, and especially of the proposed sending of an American squadron to the Pacific—a circumstance which may and probably has nothing to do with any manifestation of ill feeling—it is interesting also to hear what the Ambassador has to say as to this. Mr. Tsudzuki remarked: "No sensible politician in Japan is surprised that America, with whom Japan stands on the friendliest footing, should do what pleases her in her own waters. Japan would feel just as little perturbed if one day Admiral Dewey, or Admiral Evans representing him, should appear off the Philippines. As to California, one must give its people time to recover from the craze produced by the earthquake in certain heads. Japan needs peace, not war. Anyway, we can wait." Surely a sensible and reasonable view!

The Hague.

THE RED-WINGED BLACKBIRD

BY MARTHA YOUNG

Gay little whistler in the tree,
Blowing a bugle, "Tu-ru-lee!"
Wearing epaulets rosy red,
Dapper cap on his saucy head.

He was a soldier once—my word!
Gay little bugler, brisk blackbird;
His wars are over, and peace is sweet:
Still at evening he blows—Retreat!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELIZABETH WHITTIER AND THE AMESBURY HOME

BY ANNIE RUSSELL MARBLE

THE six New England authors—Emerson and Hawthorne, Longfellow and Lowell, Holmes and Whittier—all found inspiration and happiness in their home companions. Whittier alone did not marry. In earlier years, when the thoughts of love and one's own fireside must have often appealed to his susceptible nature, he was deterred by poverty and heavy obligations as son and brother. In manhood the cause of anti-slavery was almost a passion in his nature, while the shadow of poverty was still over him and negatived the wisdom of marriage. In serene later life, when income had increased, his health was still uncertain, and his habits had become so definitely fixed that any marked change brought weariness to his soul. Undoubtedly there were hours when he yearned for such happiness as he pictured in many a domestic narrative and ballad. On the whole, however, he had a happy home life during his years of political activity and in the quiet evening of his life. To his sister Elizabeth he owed, and acknowledged, the stimulus and companionship of his most productive period as a poet.

Much has been written regarding the influence of intelligent and sympathetic motherhood upon noted men of affairs and letters, but the adequate word has yet to be said in recognition of the inspiring, often self-abnegating, services of the sisters of many famous men. Literature affords many such examples, notably the sisters of Philip Sidney, of Balzac and Macaulay, Dorothy Wordsworth, Mary Lamb, Susanne Browning, and Sophia Thoreau. Among sisters of such inspirational love, Elizabeth Whittier deserves all honor. The older sister Mary performed an act of impulsive service when she recognized her brother's poetic possibilities and sent his fledgling verses to Garrison's paper, the Newburyport Free Press. From this sympathetic appreciation dated the opening of a new future for the plodding but yearning farmer lad. Mary married Jacob Caldwell, of Haverhill, and left home during Whittier's early manhood, and she had no large share in the trials and slow achievements of his mature life.

Elizabeth was eight years the junior of her poet brother, and his admiring companion during their childhood on the farm. In his dedicatory poem "To My Sister" he recalled their delights in the fields and by the fireside:

"Lo! once again our feet we set
On still green wood-paths, twilight wet
By lonely brooks whose waters fret
The roots of spectral beeches;
Again, the hearth-fire glimmers o'er
Home's whitewashed walls and painted floor,
And young eyes widening to the lore
Of faery folks and witches."

After this sister's death the poet's memory pictured again—

"The hillside flowers she loved to seek;—
Yet following me where'er I went,
With dark eyes full of love's content."

Those "large, sweet, asking eyes," commemorated also in "Snow-Bound," revealed a generous, high-minded nature which bespoke for Elizabeth Whittier the love of all who knew her. A lady who was her roommate for a time at the Haverhill Academy has emphasized to me her lovely character, always unselfish and considerate, although suffering frequent attacks of headache which prevented her from enjoying many of the pleasures of school life. She was finally compelled to leave the Academy because of ill health, but afterwards taught for a time in the little district school.

Through the kindness of Mr. Pickard, literary executor of the Whittier papers, I have been privileged to quote extracts from a diary kept by Elizabeth Whittier and from a few of her letters. In one of the early pages of the little journal is an interesting reverie which portrays her physical condition and the consequent reaction upon her oversensitive mind and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conscience. This was written when she was about eighteen years old: "I believe I do not love to be alone as well as formerly—perhaps ill health and low spirits have taught me to shun solitude, which I used to love so well and seek most eagerly. When I was a child, I used to experience a strange, indescribable feeling of joy, of entire abstraction, from every trouble or bitterness I had known before, when I could go away alone. I have often wondered if that feeling of exclusive happiness within myself was not an evidence of a natural proneness to misanthropy and melancholy. I wish I was more of a Stoic in regard to pain, mere physical pain—theirs was certainly a wonderful, an enviable philosophy; I cannot imagine the origin of so much firmness. Oh! I am sure I shall never be like those philosophers. I am a coward in suffering—but perhaps they were never afflicted with a severe, a never-ending headache."

Outwardly, until the closing years of her life, she showed few evidences of her recurrent illnesses. She was always gentle and sympathetic, and had a keen wit in conversation with her friends. More vivacious and dramatic in expression than her brother, she was given the lead in conversation by him when friends called, and her bright sayings lingered in many memories. In spite of such painful days, life brought her much happiness, and she enjoyed its pleasures with a zest that was contagious. Like Whittier, she disliked large gatherings, and was unconstrained only in a small circle of sympathetic acquaintances. An entry in the diary bears witness to this trait: "I had a note from H. M. [Harriet Minot] last eve, written on fifth day last, asking me to meet company at her house the next eve. How glad I am I did not receive the invitation in season to have gone—I have never been much in large companies—and I feel I would not be happy to be; unaccustomed as I am to the ways and feelings of the world of fashion, how could I mingle in the gayety of the brilliant circle?"

Such passages reveal the more thoughtful, often melancholy, moods of this woman. In letters to her most intimate friend, Harriet Minot, afterwards Mrs. Pitman (kindly loaned for use by the latter's daughter, Mrs. Laughlin), are merry touches blended often with the serious meditations. In a letter dated Amesbury, 4th of 1st Mo., 1841, she wrote: "I love to remember the gone things of last year—how beautifully the gay and sorrowful blend in the past—we love to remember all, everything has a strange charm. Leisure hours I employ in *spirit-visiting*. This winter Greenleaf has been sick more than usual—and when I sit at my work I just go and talk to one and another, that is, when Greenleaf is too ill to let me talk to him, and mother and aunt grow tired of hearing."

In the same letter comes a gayer tone. Referring to the engagement of a common friend and her betrothed, she says: "He has traveled—he writes poetry and eats *graham bread:* that is all I know of him—that I only heard." Then follows a spirited description of her winter pleasures: "'Tis glorious sleighing! I went yesterday about six miles, but 'twas too cold. How I should love to tell thee about the sleigh-rides I have had this winter. Thee must know one of the monthly meeting's young friends, a farmer, a mile or two above us, has gone out into the world in fashion, and drives a gay sleigh with nice grays—or rather, he *drives* the *horses*. Well, this young friend and his sister used to have a great fear of me because I had been 'away,' but this winter I went to their party, a gathering of the olden time; we played with the pewter plate and the broomstick. Since that wonderful evening we have been good friends; I go to ride with the gallant young man—and such rides! Thee should see us dashing on in the tasseled sleigh. Perhaps we will come to see thee some time, but my friend won't take his hat off and he won't speak—but he can drive gloriously."

In her early years she carried her admiration of her brother to the extent of writing verses. Both had great facility in rhyming; in sensitiveness to nature's beauty and in tender sentiment she seems often to surpass Whittier. From the first he encouraged her in verse-writing. In a letter from Haverhill to the New England Review, of Hartford, after sickness had called him home from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

editorial duties on this journal, he thus introduced some of her youthful verses: "By the by, a little sister of mine—a girl of fifteen summers—has, like her luckless brother, a disposition to make rhymes. The following, which I have, somewhat feloniously and of malice aforethought, abstracted from her writing-desk, is a specimen of her versifying:

"AUTUMN SUNSET [1]

"Oh, there is beauty in the sky, a widening of gold
Upon each light and breezy cloud and on each vapory fold!
The autumn wind has died away, the air has not a sound,
Save the sighing of the withered leaves as they fall upon the ground."

Two of her poems of similar type, signed E. H. W., had appeared the preceding autumn in the Essex Gazette, of Haverhill—"The Penitent" and "The Last Night of Summer."

Although the Haverhill homestead was dear to Whittier and his family, yet there was a relief from heavy burdens of labor and anxiety when the farm was sold in July, 1836. Within a few weeks all that remained of the family circle—his mother, sister, and Aunt Mercy—were located in a cottage on Friend Street in Amesbury, about nine miles from their old home. This was near the Friends' meeting-house, whither they had driven for services for many years, and where they had formed pleasant social relations with a few fellow-worshipers. In contrast with the farmstead of one hundred and fifty acres and the spacious rooms, this new home of five small rooms seemed cramped. Elizabeth was often lonely during the first weeks in Amesbury; she missed the old associations and she missed her brother, who was away for many months, performing editorial services for anti-slavery in New York and Philadelphia. Upon her devolved responsibility for the happiness of the two elderly women in the home and for the financial management of very limited resources. To the generosity of Joseph Sturge, the English reformer, and his visit to America and friendship with Whittier in 1841, the latter was indebted for a virtual gift of $1,000. This was partly in remuneration for the poet's scantily paid services as secretary of the abolition societies of Nation and State. In 1903, when some walls were being removed for changes in the Amesbury home, Mr. Pickard found a package of letters which suggest that this gift, together with some arrears of salary from the American Anti-Slavery Society, enabled Whittier to enlarge the Amesbury cottage, adding "the garden room" and an attractive chamber above for Elizabeth.

The latter fully shared her brother's passionate interest in the abolition reform. During his years of activity she assisted by clerical work, and by practical influence among neighbors in Haverhill and Amesbury. In the latter place she was President of the Woman's Anti-Slavery Society. Both Dr. May and Whittier have told of her zeal and courage when the attack was made upon Dr. May at a meeting in Haverhill in August, 1835. The speaker's escape from serious injury was due to the brave leadership of Elizabeth Whittier, who linked her arm in May's, and, with her friend, Harriet Minot, on his other side, brought him in safety through the infuriated crowd and entertained him over night at her own home. A letter (loaned by Mr. Pickard) to one of her cousins reveals her deep enthusiasm over the small triumphs for freedom. This is dated Amesbury, 31st of 7th Mo., 1848: "I thought of thee the other evening when Joshua Leavitt lectured out here in the street—a real *stump speech*. How tossed and troubled is now the political world—yet 'tis beautiful, for the great heart of politics is beating wildly for regeneration. Let it throb! Yet I feel firmer, stronger than ever for *pure unfaltering Liberty Party*. To the young aspirant for Freedom, were I a man and a politician, I would give my hand and my heart to help and encourage, but I would not, I could not, go back from my advance post to *meet them*. *No!* they must come up to the light they have followed."

For the cause of anti-slavery Elizabeth wrote many verses; only a few have ever been reprinted, but others deserve resurrection from the files of old journals, for they enlarge our knowledge of this woman's character and influence. For

[1] The New England Review, March 14, 1831.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Garrison's paper, The Liberator, she wrote lines of zealous exhortation, with text from Jeremiah v. 23:

"Awake! ere the wrath of Jehovah is poured
On those who have darkened the light of his word!
Shall the call for redemption from sufferings and wrongs
Be unanswered by Him to whom vengeance belongs?
Shall the clank of the chain, and the shriek of the slave,
Be unheeded by Him who is mighty to save?"[1]

In a portfolio of Garrison's literary remains, at the Boston Public Library, I chanced upon a printed programme, "Hymn by Miss E. H. Whittier for the Annual Meeting of the Ladies Anti-Slavery Society of Concord (New Hampshire), December 25, 1835." It shows the prominence of this young woman of twenty-one years among women workers in New England; it also has a certain melody and individuality of form:

"When first old Plymouth's forests rang
With the free Pilgrim's solemn lays,
The firmest of the choir that sang
Was woman, strong in prayer and praise.

Ay, woman! well she bore her part,
Amidst that suffering pilgrim band;
Faith, duty, love, had nerved her heart,
In farewell of her native land.

Calmly that band of exiles sleep—
Ours is the land whereon they moved—
And ours the trust, alive to keep
The freedom that the pilgrims loved.

Daughters of such a race! Shall not
Their zeal for right with us remain?
If greater blessings mark our lot,
Shall those who suffer plead in vain?

No! while the wearying chains of wrong
Our worn and suffering sisters wear,
Our slumbering hath been all too long—
Our waking should be zeal and prayer.

When Whittier returned to Philadelphia and his duties upon the Freeman after his severe illness in 1839, Elizabeth accompanied him and remained for nearly six months, assisting him in various ways and caring for his physical comforts. Among her unpublished letters are two of interest that belong to this experience. The first was written from Amesbury to her brother the previous year, "9th of 3d Mo., 1838," soon after he went to Philadelphia:

We get along very well and *comfortable*. Mother is quite smart and says she does not need any money—thee *must not send any*. "B. Lundy will retire from the editorial charge of the N. Enquirer and will be succeeded by J. G. Whittier," so says the Herald of Freedom, which I have just seen. What does it mean? Lundy's absence is only for a few weeks, is it? Please send us a paper. . . . We have read thy book—Oh! how horrible it is—we feel as if it must do a great work! I never experienced such a strong feeling of thankfulness that I was not a slave before; while reading I felt as if I was almost there and a slave—when I had finished I imagine my feelings of relief were like those of a runaway slave. I shall want to hear a good deal about James Williams when thee comes home. The abolitionist people here are *spiritually* alive. Horton says the *mainspring* of their movement has gone to New York. I told Carruthers they must do something to evidence their fidelity, if 'twas mere kicking.

Lundy was Whittier's predecessor in Philadelphia—the name of the journal being changed from the National Enquirer to the Pennsylvania (or Philadelphia) Freeman, when the poet assumed its charge. The reference to the book and James Williams will be located as the strange, sensational prose story, "The Narrative of James Williams," which had appeared anonymously the previous year when Whittier was in New York assisting in the editorship of the Anti-Slavery Reporter. Later it was found that much of this so-called narrative by a fugitive slave was unauthentic, and the circulation of the book, edited by Whittier, was not extended.

The second letter here included was written by Elizabeth to her mother from Philadelphia, 8th of 9th month, 1839:

As we are safely here in the great city, I must tell thee of the fact. We had a nice journey here—the weather was beautiful. . . . Greenleaf is about as he was at home. I hardly think he will stay here a great while—does not think he is strong enough to bear so great strain. I went up the old stairways in the State House, where the buckled shoes and white-topped boots of the old worthies of the Revolution have so often trod. I stood under the old bell which rang first for independence. I could look from the windows on the green square where the people listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence.

In the files of the Freeman, 1838–1839, are a few scattered poems signed E. H. W.; they were largely political tracts in rhyme, with little poetic value. Some of them have a touch of deep scorn,

[1] Liberator, July 13, 1833.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as "To the New Hampshire Delegates in Congress who Voted for Gag Law:"[1]

"False servants of a people's trust!
Traitors to holy truth and right,
Down with your coward heads in dust!
How will ye bear the strengthening light
Which, bursting o'er the northern land,
Hath roused a people that will stand
Firm for their ancient freedom still?"

The most worthy verses written by Elizabeth Whittier in behalf of freedom were printed in the National Era, August 14, 1852, with a poem unsigned but recognized later as the work of Whittier. The two poems were called "Fremont Campaign Songs." Whittier's contribution was the marching song, "We're Free," and his sister's was dramatic and rhythmic, "Fremont's Ride." This has been reprinted in varied forms, but a single stanza will recall its musical cadence:

"Oh, speed the bold riders! fling loose every rein;
The race run for Freedom is not run in vain;
From mountain and prairie, from lake and from sea,
Ride gallant and hopeful, ride fearless and free.
Who'll follow? Who'll follow?
The bands gather fast;
They who ride with Fremont
Ride in triumph at last!"

When Whittier chose nine of his sister's poems for inclusion in his later editions of collected poems, he did not reprint any of these verses upon slavery. He wisely decided that her memory should be cherished for the more gracious qualities of mind and heart. During the stress of the abolition movement she turned aside, as did her brother, from the more natural expressions of her sentiments and fancy to militant, aggressive themes. In addition to the memorial lines, the legendary "Dream of Argyle," and the half-sad, half-romantic ballads included by Whittier in his selected poems by Elizabeth, she wrote many verses of friendship and reverie that were never printed. One such, in manuscript, has been loaned for use here; a portion only is cited:

"TO A FRIEND AT THE SOUTH

"A rose from the South—a beautiful token
Of kindly remembrance and promise unbroken!
Most brightly before me sweet visions arise
Of the giver, a dweller 'neath sunnier skies,
Again at my side in New England once more,
All unchanged and the same as I knew thee before;
In the vale of our childhood I listen to hear
The laugh of my school friend come glad on my ear!
Oh, the love of our birthplace! that lingering rose
Which no change in its bloom and no autumn time knows.
Beneath the blue beauty of Florida's skies,
Oh, surely sweet thoughts of New England arise!"

It has been suggested by some who knew this poetic woman that "The Wedding Veil," printed in the Atlantic Monthly early in 1858 and chosen by Whittier for inclusion, told in subtle form a part of her own pathetic heart-experience. The nobility of her self-effacing life was well embodied in a single stanza from "The Meeting Waters:"

"I would die as dies the river,
In that current deep and wide;
I would live as live its waters,
Flashing from a stronger tide!"

After her earlier womanhood, Elizabeth Whittier wrote only a few poems, occasional verses to friends for some day of remembrance, or a hymn for special gathering. Her chief joy was as her brother's literary adviser and home companion. In her little diary is a significant sentence, broken and resumed with interpretation; it was written just as the family were about to leave the Haverhill home in 1836: "Many memories and thoughts come crowding upon me—but at the call from my brother I thrust aside my book, pencil, and sentiment to go to his assistance." In letters to his publishers, with corrections, he would often say, "My sister thinks it is better thus, and I believe she is right." She entered perfectly into his poetic aspirations, and also into his moods of mild playfulness and relaxation. With such assurance Whittier dedicated to her his prose essays, "The Supernaturalism of New England:"

"Thou wilt not chide my turning
To con, at times, an idle rhyme,
To pluck a flower from childhood's clime,
Or listen, at life's noonday chime,
For the sweet bells of Morning!"

Elizabeth Whittier was, to a remarkable degree, considering her slender opportunities, a well-read woman; her

[1] The Freeman, Third Month, 1838.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comments upon books were original and illumining. Whittier referred to her intelligent admiration of Browning's "Men and Women" in 1855, while he failed to grasp the poet's meaning.[1] For many years she maintained a literary circle among the younger Amesbury women, inspiring them with a love for good literature and exercising her own alert, acquisitive mind.

To their neighbors in Amesbury, and to all honest pilgrims from a distance, Whittier and his sister extended a welcome in which were blended the sweet graciousness and dignity so characteristic of Quaker hospitality. As the poet's fame grew, he was victimized by callers of curious minds, and to save him from their annoyances his sister often devised clever schemes. The favorite guests with both brother and sister were the children and youths of the neighborhood. They shared the flowers and fruits of the garden and enjoyed the family pets, parrot, bantam rooster, and cats. One child thus favored, now a mature woman, has recounted for me a happy afternoon of remembrance when, with two little friends, she went to visit Whittier in his garden-room. At his request one of the little girls sang an old-time religious lay, "Shall We Gather at the River?" When she had finished this, and two or three more songs, Whittier took the two younger girls upon his knee, while the older leaned upon the arm of his chair, and said, "Thee has given me much pleasure by thy singing, little one; now I will tell thee and thy friends a story—a story of an old man who went to sleep and slept twenty years."

Thus, for the first time, these little girls heard the story of Rip Van Winkle, told with charm by the poet. Another pleasant memory of these Amesbury days was told by another child of the past generation. She took a pair of shoes into the cobbler's shop for repairs one day, and Whittier was there talking with his friend the shoemaker. As she placed the shoes upon the bench, Whittier took them up and said, with a twinkle in his eye, "Thee is too hard upon thy sole, my little maid."

Both Whittier and his sister felt deep interest in the spiritualistic phenomena and discussions of the day. The old planchette board, which in turn allured and irritated him, may be seen at the rooms of the Whittier Home Association. In spite of such interest and wide reading along these lines, the poet would often chide his sister if he found that she was becoming too deeply interested in some special case of occultism: "Let it alone, Elizabeth; it will only do thee harm."

Elizabeth shared her brother's delight in learning of distant lands, especially such as appealed to their romantic imaginations. They read books of travel together, and astonished their friend Bayard Taylor by their accurate knowledge of strange places. With childlike joy they welcomed him, on return, to their fireside. In a memorial poem to Taylor, Whittier recalled his sister's friendship with the poet-traveler and her eagerness to learn his impressions of far-away countries:

"'And where now, Bayard, will thy footsteps tend?'
My sister asked our guest one winter's day.
Smiling, he answered in the Friends' sweet way
Common to both: 'Wherever thou shalt send.
What wouldst thou have me see for thee?'
She laughed,
Her dark eyes dancing in the wood-fire's glow:
'Lofoden isles, the Kilpis, and the low
Unsetting sun on Finmark's fishing craft.'"

While the brother and sister found great happiness in the visits of a few congenial friends, yet they were always content in their dual comradeship. In one of Elizabeth's unpublished journal confessions she says: "It is good to be alone! To-day we have had much company, and I have been happy and was sorry they went away—yet I have been happy alone this evening. . . . Dear brother Greenleaf is at home again—it is so good to have him at home, for it is not exactly *home* without him."

One of the few pleasures enjoyed by Whittier and Elizabeth outside their own home was a summer outing to the Isles of Shoals. The last summer of the sister's life was passed, in part, at picturesque Appledore. Here she had a fall from the rocks, which was not thought dangerous at the time, but which aggravated a spinal trouble. The next year, 1863–1864, was a time of great trial to

[1] Life and Letters, I., 370.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the two. When every medical agency proved unavailing, Whittier realized that his sister must soon leave him. She was anxious, in turn, lest he might overstrain his vitality by services and worry for her. She was a brave, sweet invalid, as was attested by all who saw her. Gail Hamilton, after a last visit, wrote: "Her spirits are excellent—almost unnaturally so."

For many months after the death of Elizabeth, Whittier seemed stunned; Mrs. Fields has said that he "had a sorrowful, stricken look, and found it hard enough to reconstruct his life, missing her companionship and care and her great sympathy with his own literary work" ("Authors and Friends," p. 279). The quiet courage with which he took up that life, after a few weeks of exhaustion, the serenity with which he faced the lonely future and adjusted himself to new conditions, the noble work of his remaining forty years of life, all testified to the strength of his character and his unwavering faith in spiritual guidance. "Snow-Bound" was a blessed inspiration—an elegy primarily to his sister's memory; begun as he looked out upon her garden, it led to earlier, less sad memories, and, unconsciously, from his grief there emerged a master-poem. Before this poem was finished he wrote a brief memorial, "The Vanishers," embodying not alone his love for his sister but his assurance of her presence, invisible yet inspiring, in the life before him. The germ of the poem was in the Indian legend of departed spirits—"the mystic vanishers"—elusively beckoning us to the "Sunset of the Blest:"

"Gentle eyes we closed below,
Tender voices heard once more,
Smile and call us, as they go
On and onward, still before.

. . . . . .

"Guided thus, O friend of mine!
Let us walk our little way,
Knowing by each beckoning sign
That we are not quite astray!"

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN FINLAND

BY G. H. BLAKESLEE

WOMAN'S suffrage is a decided success in Finland. The Finnish people, men and women alike, have accepted it as a natural reform, have ceased to discuss it, and now interest themselves entirely with other political problems. Women received the right to vote and to be members of Parliament primarily as a result of the unusually active part which they took in opposing the Russian bureaucratic rule in the trying days of Governor Bobrikoff, but the general conditions of Finnish life which existed before this had already prepared the way for the reform. For some time women have occupied a place of substantial equality with men. A large proportion of them earn their own living, and fill important professional and business positions. They are lawyers, editors, lecturers; they even hold many situations, such as those of bank tellers and clerks, which would not be open to them in America.

Since most of the Finnish schools are co-educational, they, too, have been helpful in accustoming the two sexes to work together. In the elementary branches boys and girls have always been taught in the same classes, but the first co-educational school of higher rank was started in 1882. Since then the number and the popularity of such institutions has constantly increased. In the University of Helsingfors, the only one in Finland, the young women have enjoyed full privileges since 1897. One can always recognize them upon the street, for they wear the same distinctive white and black student cap as do the men. They take part in all University celebrations and festivities, and belong to the different University clubs. At the regular club meetings, after the formal exercises are over, glasses of beer and of tea are brought in, and the young men and the young women discuss together the topics of the day.

At about the same time that the co-educational movement began—that is, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the early eighties—a strong Finnish Woman's Rights Association was organized. By an active propaganda, by public meetings, and by articles in the press, it helped still further to accustom the minds of the people to the idea of sex equality.

In these ways Finland was already well prepared for the extension of the suffrage to women, but it was the political zeal and ability which they displayed in the struggle against Russia which was the immediate and decisive cause of their receiving the ballot. In 1901 Nicholas II. overthrew the Finnish Constitution in order that he might make the government and the institutions of Finland more like the Russian, thus unifying and strengthening his Empire. When the Finns protested and refused to recognize the new administration, the whole Russian bureaucratic system was forced upon them.

It was in the following six years' struggle against this régime that the women of Finland received their real political education. Their husbands were being exiled, their sons were being sent into the Russian army. Politics suddenly became a thing which profoundly affected the happiness of their every-day life. The best energies of both men and women were at once concentrated upon the problem of restoring their Constitution. Some of the women took a prominent part among the Activists, a small but vigorous party which, besides organizing a reign of terror against the obnoxious Russian officials, brought into the country thousands of rifles and revolvers and tons of amnunition, in order to prepare for open revolt if conditions in Russia itself should ever be favorable for such action. But the most valuable work of the women patriots was in connection with the so-called passive resistance, which aimed to make the Russian rule impossible by uniting the whole country in a firm refusal to recognize its legality. To make this resistance successful it was necessary to organize the people—an extremely difficult task, since the police force was Russian and spies were everywhere.

The women were not as closely watched by the authorities as were the men, so they easily traveled from town to town and village to village, holding meetings and conferences, making speeches, and distributing patriotic pamphlets and newspapers. The most effective of these papers was one called The Free Word, which was printed weekly in Stockholm; despite Russian scouts and Russian torpedo-boats, it was regularly carried into Finland, where it was widely circulated. The Free Word contained from four to sixteen small-sized pages of reading matter each issue, but as it was printed on the thinnest India paper, it was possible to compress hundreds of copies into a very small package. These were distributed for the most part by women, who carried them concealed under their clothing. The total amount of such anti-Russian literature smuggled into Finland during these few years of struggle weighed no less than forty-two tons.

When at last the great general strike in Russia in October, 1905, forced autocracy to fight for its very existence, the Finns saw that the moment had come to demand the restoration of their Constitution. They, too, made a general strike; all Finland stopped work. There were patriotic gatherings of men and women in the city squares; patriotic processions of men and women marched through the streets of the capital. The Russians were terrified; they believed that Finland was armed and ready for open revolt. The Czar was helpless; by a stroke of the pen he restored again to Finland all of her ancient privileges.

In gaining this victory the women probably did more than their share of the work. One of the University professors in Helsingfors, in describing the history of the struggle against Russia, emphasized the importance of the part taken by the women in concealing the revolutionary literature and in distributing it throughout the land; in summarizing the causes of Finland's success he declared, "We could never have won without the petticoats."

Under these circumstances, when, in addition to regranting the Constitution, the Czar permitted the country to have a modern Parliament in place of its mediæval Diet with the four estates—nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants—it was only natural that the Finns should be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

willing to grant the women the right of suffrage. To be sure of securing this privilege, the Association of Finnish Women held as many as three hundred public meetings during the two months that the new electoral project was particularly under discussion; but these meetings were hardly necessary. When the electoral bill was laid before the old Diet for its approval or rejection, the provision granting women the right to vote and to be representatives was almost unanimously approved by each of the four estates.

In the campaign preceding the election to the new Parliament the women attached themselves to each of the different parties, held important offices, made many speeches, and in general were as completely absorbed in the immediate political issues as were the men. Some of the parties even hired servants to do the household work for certain of the women speakers whose services were especially valuable upon the stump. When the election days came, women party workers visited those whose home duties would have prevented them from voting, and kept house for them while they went to the polls and cast their ballots. In conversation with a Finnish lady who is prominent in one of the parties, some surprise was expressed at the fact that the Finnish women should be so much better informed on political matters than were the American; the laughing reply was, "Of course we are interested in almost nothing else. When even two or three of us get together we always talk politics."

After the elections were over it was found that a greater number of women had voted than of men. This is an especially valuable fact, for it disproves, in one case at least, the oft-repeated general statement that if women were given the ballot they would neither vote nor take an interest in politics. The election returns further showed that the women did not vote for candidates of their own sex in preference to men, as some feared they would do, but that each, as a rule, voted for the regular nominees of the party to which she belonged. Each organization nominated its own ticket, and on each there was a certain number of women. Among the nineteen who were elected each of the different parties is represented. Of the eighty Social Democrats in the Parliament nine are women; of the fifty-nine Old Finns, six; of the twenty-five Young Finns, two; of the twenty-five Swedes, one; and of the eleven Agrarians, one. It should be noticed that the women representatives are divided among the different parties in about the same proportion as are the men; that of each delegation they form about one-tenth.

Much unfair criticism has been directed against these nineteen women. Their photographs have been published in many magazines, where it has been pointed out that they are neither shapely nor handsome—which certainly has little to do with their ability as legislators. The foreign critics further emphasize the fact that certain of them are poorly educated and come from the lower classes of society, and they never forget to state that one of them has been a cook. This may not be complimentary to the new Finnish Parliament as a whole, but it cannot justly be made a ground of criticism against the women members alone, for the all-important consideration is that the women representatives of each party compare favorably with the men of the same party. Of the eighty Social Democrats, for example, thirty have received no more than a primary school education; many are day laborers and peasants who can write their names only with difficulty.

It is not just to group these nineteen in a single class, for they are as different from one another as are the parties which they represent. Certain of the Finnish parties are very largely made up of the relatively illiterate, while others contain the educated and cultured. Several of the nineteen are persons of some distinction. Baroness Gripenberg, who received the largest vote of any of the Old Finns, has for years been at the head of the Finnish Woman's Association. She is a person of social position, a brilliant speaker and writer, and is possessed of unusual executive and intellectual ability. Mrs. Gebhard has studied at the University, where she made a specialty of political economy,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

investigating particularly the problem of co-operation in industry. Three of the others are each head masters of higher grade schools; while nearly all of the nineteen, uncultured though some of them may be, have yet won some local reputation at least from their speaking and writing.

During the four weeks' session of Parliament the women displayed less initiative and spoke far less frequently than did the men. There was only one occasion when they really took the lead in debate; that was upon the question of the proper treatment of illegitimate children. But this was strictly not a sex but a party issue; the particular bill before the House was urged by the Social Democrats and opposed by the Old Finns. When the women have interested themselves in any other than the ordinary party problems, it has been in such questions as those relating to social purity; the age of marriage, which it is proposed to fix at eighteen; the rights of women in certain professions, in which their full equality with men is not yet recognized; and the property rights of married women. At present the latter have full power over all property which they owned before marriage, or which they have acquired since; but it is now proposed that the wife shall be given a certain definite share of the husband's income. Eighteen bills have been introduced by the women, practically all of which relate to some social reform. The temperance cause has received their especial support; all but one of the nineteen are total abstainers. On the regular committees of the Parliament they are well represented, and even have the chairmanship of the Committee on Education. It must be admitted, however, that up to the present time none of the women have succeeded in winning a place among the prominent leaders of any of the parties.

One of the first questions which a stranger is apt to ask when he comes to Helsingfors is, "How does woman's suffrage work in practice? What is there to say about it?" The Finlander who is questioned usually answers, with a rather perplexed smile, "Why, there is nothing to say. It is simply the natural thing to have women vote." The general attitude of the vast majority even of the educated, thinking part of the population is that the reform is working well, that the question is definitely settled, and that there is no reason for troubling themselves further regarding it. Prominent representatives of each of the four leading parties declared that their organizations were heartily in favor of having the women vote and be representatives in Parliament. Konni Zilliacus, whom many look upon as the hero of the Finnish resistance to Russia, said, "The only difference is that now some of the voters wear petticoats and some wear trousers, that's all." Even Baroness Gripenberg had but little to say in regard to the movement which for many years she has led with distinguished ability, but preferred to speak of the aims and the work of the Old Finnish party, which she represents in Parliament and in which she is clearly more interested than in the now dead issue of woman's suffrage. Considering the novelty of this reform, it seems very remarkable that the Finns as a whole are so unanimously and so strongly in its favor.

Now and then, of course, one finds men who dislike to see women at the polls or in the Parliament, but even they admit that they are in a very small minority. One of their complaints is that the vote of the women simply doubles that of the men. It is true, to be sure, that most of the women vote the same ticket as their husbands or fathers or brothers, yet it is equally certain that many vote independently. This is shown by the fact that a large proportion of the young women whom training and education would naturally incline to be somewhat conservative were induced by the idealistic character of socialism to support the Social Democratic party. This very fact is sometimes mentioned to prove their lack of political judgment. Occasionally flippant objections are advanced; most of the women representatives, it is said, are old maids who interest themselves in securing rights for their sisters in the married state—something which they entirely fail to understand. After all has been said, however, the only severe criticism which can honestly be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brought against the women representatives is that their presence in the Parliament has failed to raise the average ability of that body.

The majority of the Finns believe that since it is natural for men and women to work together in other relations of life, they should also do so in political affairs; that they supplement each other in politics, each being better fitted to deal with certain problems than is the other.

Different representative persons were asked if woman's suffrage had altered the political situation in any essential particular, and the practically uniform answer was that it had not done so. Women have had no chance to purify politics, for Finnish politics is not corrupt. The general situation is now very nearly what it would be if they neither voted nor sat in Parliament. But in one respect it is evident, from what they have already accomplished, that their exercise of the suffrage and their presence in Parliament are to be a great blessing to Finland; for they will keep to the front social, moral, and philanthropic problems, and will apply to their solution a higher idealism than would otherwise be found in a legislative body.

PROBLEMS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE[1]

THE TRUE MAN AND AN UNREAL THEOLOGY

BY LAIRD WINGATE SNELL

I WAS telling a city clergyman of the open attitude of workingmen towards fundamental Christian truth simply put. His comment was, "Yet they are not really Christian men." Apparently he meant to exonerate the Church and condemn the men. In reality his comment condemns the Church. How shall men with minds seeking truth live within the shadow of the Church of Christ and not be disciples of Christ? It must be that the Church shows forth Christ falsely, else true men would know, and knowing follow him.

The Church fails at this point, first, on account of her outworn theology. For an unreal theology makes an untrue Church, and an untrue Church gives the world a false Christ.

Theology, new or old, may be of little interest to the workingman; but theology, true or untrue, vital or moribund, is the prime factor when the question concerns the Church's power with the people—so intimate is the relation between belief and life.

Two methods are being used by the Church to-day to catch men—both sincere and both failures because of a false theology—one the method of the old "evangelism," the other the method of the new "institutionalism."

The one presents to the common man a classification of humanity—the saved and the unsaved; then a dilemma—"Come to Jesus and be saved, refuse him and be lost;" and, lastly, one of three practical tests—"Undergo conversion, that is, experience a right-about-face in your inward life;" or, perhaps, "Receive the sacraments and saving ministrations of the Church;" or, infrequently to-day in city churches, "Accept a form of doctrine."

Whatever power may still remain to the old evangelistic method for rescue work among the submerged of the cities and the degenerates of the country, it is wholly without power among the self-respecting working class. It fails, apparently, to rouse a ripple of interest, to awaken so much as a thought, much less to touch remotely the will. In the first place, it does not define its terms—"saved," "lost," "come to Jesus," "washed in the blood," "the Holy Ghost"—nor does it give them the

[1] Under this general head are included seven brief articles by Mr. Snell, dealing with practical and personal religious problems. The present is the fifth article of the series.—THE EDITORS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thoroughgoing moral significance by which alone they become religious. Such unreality in thinking is falseness in theology.

But more fundamental is the fact that the classification itself, with its dilemma and tests, is false. Men feel this falseness—the failure to match the truth in their own lives—and listen as those that hear not. Men know that the true man is not lost; or, if he be, it is better to be true and lost than by a lie to be safe. Men know that the true man needs no "right about face;" but that, if God is, truth to the manliness within is the way that leads to God; that to "come to Jesus" concerns him only in case Christian discipleship is a practical duty, a matter of right or wrong doing. If you make a man see that the best and holiest human life he can think of is presented in the picture of Jesus, that that picture has quickened you and many another to newness of life, and that to be loyal to Christ is simply, *in the light of that picture*, to be loyal to the best and truest in himself, then you have made him see a duty—the duty to seek life and follow light. Christian discipleship becomes a moral imperative, as we know Christ "no longer after the flesh," but after the spirit—that "spirit of holiness" which brings him home to the consciousness of men as rightful Lord. This spiritual apprehension of Christ traditional evangelism has lost.

This is not to say that the common man at all thinks out his judgment upon evangelism. It is to say that the theology underlying the old evangelism is immoral, that the common man is profoundly moral, that therefore he rejects the message, and amidst its many husks loses the kernel—its call to learn of Him who is both truth and life.

The honest attempt the Church is making to win these men by institutional methods fails to attain its end for a like reason—a false theology, an inadequate thought of man and God. By reason of their erroneous thought of man and God, churches employing the institutional method fear to attack men at once and squarely as sons of God, who are by nature through and through, first, last, and always, religious. They appeal to men's wholesome interests and activities, but do not aim directly, strongly, openly, through these, to fan the divine spark to a constant, conscious glow. Thus they say, "Let us help this man's physical life—give him a gymnasium; his social life—game-rooms, clubs, 'smokers;' his intellectual life—classes, libraries, lectures; perchance some day he will remember or discover that we are a Church, drop into a religious meeting, and give us a chance to awaken his religious life." The scheme presents variations in the relations between the "secular" and the "religious" activities, but falls always into the same error: bound by the old-time theological conception of a limited, partial, purely supernatural incarnation, it denies the completeness of God's relations to man, denies that the whole man belongs in God. In approaching men it fails to attack them as God-related on every side of their being, fails to treat all their wholesome, normal activities as part of the religious life, fails to strike at their religious consciousness and insatiate hunger after God as present and operative in all their needs and modes of growth, physical, social, or intellectual.

What call has the Church to put a billiard-cue in the hands of a man, except she say to the man at the time and unmistakably, "Present with you in this game is God; gentle manliness, honor, high regard for others and for your implements, good humor and a clean mouth, these are your opportunities to have God with you, and to show that the godly man is the goodliest companion for a good game"? Again, is it not the throwing away of rarest opportunity when—as at the last church "smoker" I attended—the topic is, "The Jury System and its Workings," led by an able lawyer, and not a word is said of the reason, the divine thought, underlying the system; no word of the God in men, source of men's compelling sense of justice, right, and truth, whereby a jury may be a partner in God's world-government, fulfilling his law which is his love?

But all this preaching and bringing God to the fore, I hear it said, must give offense and defeat the end of it all, the catching of men. It is not so—not at least where there is manifest the spirit

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that "speaks truth in love." Not all men anywhere are ready "to come to the light." But the plain truths of a God concretely, vitally, morally immanent catch the ear, hold the thought, and appeal to the heart of workingmen in general at any time and all the time. To the message concretely stated of God universally incarnate, of a Master whose claim is that of goodness, right, and truth in human life and human relations, and of man made for God and ready for an experience of divine sonship, the common man, be he Protestant, Catholic, or Jew, responds with sincerity and gladness.

This message was the gospel of Jesus Christ, whether or not it was Paul's. It is a gospel large and mighty enough to save God's world, whether or not it be orthodox in the Church. If the Church can best bring this message through gymnasiums, clubs, classes, smokers, and lectures, by all means let her use them. But let her remember that the power of the message is the *spirit of truth;* that the place for the message is wherever the man is; that the time for the message is when you have, for a moment, his ear; that the form of the message must be as various and large as human interests and activities, and that the end of the message is not to get men "converted," not to get them to church, not even to get them to "come to Christ;" but, through conversion if they must turn about, through the Church if it can minister to life, through Christ as the great, broad, sure, living Way, to lead all men by all means to God.

CRABBE, THE PARSON POET[1]

SIGNS are beginning to multiply of a revival of interest in the writings of George Crabbe, the once widely popular English parson-poet of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Following Canon Ainger's suggestive biography, Dr. A. W. Ward has brought out a really definitive edition of Crabbe's works, which in its turn has elicited numerous expressions of critical opinion; and, more recently still, Professor René Huchon, of the faculty of letters in the University of Nancy, has undertaken a most exhaustive biographical and critical study of the genius of Crabbe.

It also is distinctly original and unconventional. Accepting, though with reservations, Taine's theory, which finds the adequate explanation of a man of letters in his race, his age, and his environment, Professor Huchon's first concern has been to give his readers a thorough knowledge of the physical influences to which Crabbe was subjected in the formative period of life. For this purpose, instead of passing over the history of the early years in a few brief pages—as would most biographers intent on arriving at the years which "really count"—he devotes several chapters to a minute description of the wretched East Anglia seaside village in which Crabbe was born and spent his childhood, of the gloomy heaths and marshes round about it, and of the privations to which the poet was exposed by reason of the poverty and intemperance of his father. It is a description, too, drawn not merely from Crabbe's own writings, though their realistic passages are freely utilized, nor from the writings of others, but from Professor Huchon's personal observation, he having made the pilgrimage from France in order to study on the spot the scenes which Crabbe has so vigorously drawn in his successive poems of country life. At first, to tell the truth, an impression of over-amplitude is left by the perusal of Professor Huchon's well-nigh unbroken sequence of analytical narration; but this fades with progress through his pages, and with increasing realization that Crabbe, perhaps more than any other poet, was a writer "whose gaze remained fixed on his native soil, on the sights and the individuals familiar to his childhood." To know and appreciate him a perfect understanding of his youthful surroundings and experiences is, therefore, indispensable.

[1] George Crabbe and His Times. By René Huchon. Translated from the French by Frederick Clarke. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $5, net.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Out of this understanding, as afforded by his present critic, rapidly emerges the certainty that his early sufferings and misfortunes were blessings so far as concerned his future fame. He was not one of those who can claim the heritage of poetry by right of birth. Given a kindlier environment and the same faculty for acute observation and penetrating analysis, it seems altogether likely that he would have distinguished himself as a man of science rather than as a maker of verse. He might still have scribbled sonnets to the beloved one who first woke in him aspirations to rival the classicists who became his models; but he would have entirely lacked the material for the satirical and realistic pictures which constitute his chief bequest to posterity, and which gained for him so wide an audience, once a hearing had actually been secured.

This last was itself a soul-trying experience of great value from the creative standpoint. The story has often been told, but never so fully or so interestingly as by Professor Huchon. Crabbe was then twenty-six years old. He had made a start in life at the age of fourteen as assistant to a country apothecary without customers, and seven years of servile drudgery had left him not a penny richer and with few pleasant, but many bitter, memories. Returning to his native village of Aldborough, in Suffolk, and essaying to set up as an apothecary on his own account, he entered upon an existence that steadily became less endurable. Patients fell away from him; those who remained would not, or could not, pay for his services; and he was mercilessly pursued by innumerable creditors. Utterly despondent, but none the less serenely confident in himself, he now resolved to return to a design he had long cherished, and seek a livelihood in the world of letters. Even while an apothecary's assistant he had written and contrived to publish a seven-hundred-line poem on "Inebriety," not so far removed as is generally thought from the later successful poems; and his belief in his poetical gift was strengthened by the sympathetic assurances of the sweetheart who had already been awaiting him for seven years. So, with never a regret for the calling in which he had miserably failed, he betook himself to London in search of a patron who might provide him with means to woo the muse, if not in comfort, at least free from anxiety.

He had chosen a poor time for his quest. The American war for independence was then engrossing the attention of those who would be most likely to assist a struggling littérateur; and for the same reason Crabbe found it impossible to persuade any publisher to bring out a volume of verse which he feverishly penned. Imploring help from Lord North, Lord Shelburne, and Chancellor Thurlow—the last of whom surlily sent word that he had no time to read poetry—he was repulsed by each. Now opened the most squalid chapter of his entire career. Kept alive only by repeated visits to the pawnbroker and by assistance from the woman who still held firm her faith in him, he finally succeeded, by what desperate shift we know not, in printing two hundred and fifty copies of a book of poems. But not a copy was sold. Again creditors dogged his steps, and once more the debtors' prison yawned for him. With not a ray of hope left, and as a last despairing resort, he wrote a letter to the great-hearted Edmund Burke, describing his plight and begging for a chance to prove his worth. In Burke he found the long-sought "protector." Paying his debts, procuring a publisher for him, and, after his admission to holy orders, gaining him a chaplaincy in a noble household, Burke established the starving Crabbe in comfortable ways and gave English realism one of its most striking figures.

From this point Professor Huchon's treatment of his subject necessarily changes, though he still adheres to his method of detailed analysis and exposition, with liberal quotation from Crabbe's works to illustrate the features he would emphasize. But henceforth he is concerned less with Crabbe's career than with his writings, and for the sufficient reason that his career now merged into the placid life of a country clergyman, unbroken save for bereavements and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

occasional visits to the London where, from the modern point of view, he had cut a sorry figure as a suppliant for favor. Indeed, so strongly did the clerical life take possession of him that, after the publication of "The Library" in 1781, "The Village" in 1783, and "The Newspaper" in 1785, he devoted his pen for more than twenty years to little else than sermon-writing, not reappearing as a poet until, with "The Parish Register" in 1807, he proved that he had lost none of his pristine skill in delineating rural life and rural characters, and paved the way for the novels in verse that were to complete his work.

Of all that he wrote, there is nothing, in Professor Huchon's opinion, and it is an estimate with which most critics will agree, that as a whole quite equals "The Village." Its predecessor, "The Library," was an obviously artificial creation, important for its revelation of Crabbe himself and of undoubted satirical power; but, as the Critical Review considerately put it, "the subject is not sufficiently interesting to recommend it to general attention." In "The Village," however, Crabbe struck an entirely new note, and one that deservedly gave him a place in the history of literature. Writing from the fullness of his bitter experiences, and displaying an equally marked power for satire, analysis, and description, he tore the veil from the realities of English country life, and gave to English readers a faithful representation of its darker aspects in place of the attractive illusions created by other poets. No one, as Professor Huchon observes, "had attempted this before Crabbe; no attention was paid to rustics other than pastoral shepherds; their rough ways being known, they were considered as the most useful for supplying a comic scene—a fight, for instance, in a churchyard, with fragments of skeletons; and if a respectable yokel was introduced in a novel, care was taken to give him a little polish before the dénouement. Crabbe had no scruples of this kind; as he had known the rustic, so he painted him."

"The Village," in fine, marked a revolt from the pastoral poetry of the past, and trumpeted a defiance to the bucolic poets. Critics and public alike hastened to read and applaud it; and when, many years afterwards, Crabbe renewed his portraiture of the dwellers in the Arcadia of reality, he found an equally enthusiastic audience for his "The Parish Register," and its continuation, "The Borough." With his views of life mellowed somewhat, he still retained an unrivaled ability for patient and close observation, and all his old-time satirical fire. A little later, though, moved to more ambitious efforts and inditing the novels in verse that are to be found in his "Tales in Verse," "Tales of the Hall," and "Posthumous Tales," he discovered, to the disappointment of his publisher no less than of himself, that he had already begun to lose his audience.

For this Professor Huchon, with his characteristic passion for tracing effects to their most remote causes, advances a variety of reasons. New masters of poetry—notably Byron—had arisen to command the attention of the reading public; the classical school in which Crabbe had been educated from his youth, the school of Pope and Dryden, had gone out of fashion; the novels in verse, admirable as they were in many respects, lacked a compelling power—their portraits were hazy and indefinite, their personages, despite the fidelity to truth, were indistinct and unreal. Here, in fact, Professor Huchon touches on the great reason why Crabbe, for all his services to the cause of English poetry, is so little known to the present generation of lovers of poetry. Only in infrequent passages does he attain the inspirational heights of the poet born—elsewhere he is always the calm, reflecting, alert observer of human nature and of the world about him, philosopher and psychologist rather than true poet. "Poetry, which is emotion expressing itself in rhythmical language, demands a bold intellect, an enthusiastic and passionate mind," is the way Professor Huchon puts it. "Too uniformly reasonable and calm, Crabbe becomes animated only on rare occasions, and emits only transient gleams."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Comment on Current Books

Novels and Tales

Mr. Chambers's new novel [1] will inevitably be compared with his "The Fighting Chance," since both deal with the manners and morals of New York society. It has one advantage over its predecessor, in that it is not so brutal and repellent in its presentation of the vicious and hopeless reprobates—men and women—who stand for all that is worst among the "yellow rich" and the "monkey set." There is, to be sure, one scene of horror and tragedy near the end of the book, in which the reader's sensibilities are rasped and inartistically shocked. Apart from this and one or two characters that are excessively unpleasant, there is a good deal that is cheerful and hopeful. In the "younger set" from which he gets his title Mr. Chambers finds much that is buoyant, much that augurs well for the future of the social development of New York. His hero is a gentleman and a soldier; his heroine a clear-eyed, pure-minded young girl, the embodiment of faithfulness, good breeding, and true-heartedness; while there is a really charming family picture of father, mother, children, and dogs—Mr. Chambers's dogs are always capital, by the way. The more serious purpose of the book is to discuss certain aspects of the divorce problem; but one does not feel that the author has contributed much that is novel or important to the never-ending debate on this topic. Some of the outdoor scenes are delightful, as was the case with "The Fighting Chance." The present novel is a genuine piece of work, alive and tingling with nervous energy, although it is inferior in some respects to Mr. Chambers's best work.

Mr. Leroy Scott's "To Him that Hath" [2] distinctly belongs to that type of fiction known as "the novel with a purpose." It tells the story of the barred gate found by every convicted criminal who, after his release, strives to lead an honest life; and it is clearly intended as a plea to society to mend its ways in its treatment of "those whom the world has made ugly and whose ugliness the world cannot forgive." Taking an honest, strong, courageous young man, Mr. Scott places him in a situation where the spirit of self-sacrifice demands his voluntary acceptance of a crime committed by another; and, passing lightly over the years spent in prison, follows him step by step through the long struggle to regain his rightful place among his fellows. A marked man, hounded by the police, securing position after position only to lose each upon the discovery that he is an ex-convict, often on the verge of starvation, sorely tempted to abandon the fight and win a living by making society his prey, Mr. Scott's hero battles on to ultimate victory. His path, quite naturally, is through the "slums," and in the "slums" he meets and consorts with a great variety of human waifs, derelicts drifting helplessly in the current of life, but none the less with hearts and emotions and hopes as real as those of their more fortunate brothers. And that which gives Mr. Scott's book the vitality and strength which it unquestionably possesses is his ability to make one see these luckless types—from "Red Thorpe" to "Kate Morgan" and the street boy "Tom"—as his hero saw them. They become something more than types—real, live human beings, actors in a drama of the most intense interest and full of a tragic significance. "Never forget one thing," cries "Red Thorpe," broken but not beaten in the fight to vindicate his manhood: "the time to reform a criminal is before he becomes one. Save the kids." This is the note throughout the story, and a story, too, that is both interesting as a piece of fiction and strong as a tract. Here and there are touches perilously near the melodramatic—as in the midnight burglary—and the *dramatis personæ* do not always live up to their parts, but these minor faults are lost to sight in the eager interest with which the reader accompanies David Aldrich in his patient and toilsome pilgrimage to win back a self-surrendered reputation and to aid the new and strange friends among whom prison life has thrown him.

Mr. Oppenheim has made a place for himself as a clever writer of plot-stories, and they have been successful because they preserve that consistency and appearance of reasonableness that even sensational tales should have. They show also, it is fair to add, some measure of skill in character-building and in easy dialogue. His new book, "A Lost Leader," [1] ventures into the realms of politics, and even introduces the recent party strife in England over the tariff question. In fact, some critics profess to find in the author's Mr. Mannering, who tries to retire from party leadership but is

[1] The Younger Set. By Robert W. Chambers. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

[2] To Him that Hath. By Leroy Scott. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.

[1] A Lost Leader. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forced back into the arena by something very like personal coercion, a resemblance to Mr. Balfour. The comparison is far-fetched, for, besides other discrepancies, it may be said that Mr. Balfour was certainly never a political prig, while Mr. Mannering tries very hard not to be, but without conspicuous success. The story is readable enough, but not of great importance.

One wonders that no one has forestalled Eugene P. Lyle in making a semi-historical tale out of the stirring passages that led to the independence of Texas.[1] Here is certainly a fine topic, with dramatic and heroic incidents such as the fight at the Alamo and the final defeat of Santa Anna, and with forceful personages like Crockett, Houston, Bowie, and Austin. The book is a little after the Winston Churchill type. In the main the author handles his material effectively as regards plot and construction, but there is a tendency to overwrite and an elaborate mannerism which becomes tiresome at times.

"Empire Builders"[2] is as good a specimen as we have ever seen of the railway novel, that is to say, the type which Messrs. Merwin and Webster introduced and in which the hero "puts through" the construction of his road against every obstacle that nature, rivals, inside treachery, and high finance can bring against him. The book is crisply written, has action and life, and holds the interest throughout. It should appeal especially to young men, but will interest the general reader also—although less so with women than men, despite the fact that there is a love story involved.

Mr. Hichens's "Barbary Sheep"[3] is really a short story, a little over the usual limits, made to pose as a full-grown romance by broad margins and Oriental decorative designs. It is intense, passionate, tragical—a little like "The Garden of Allah" in its setting, and in its study of the supposed mysterious glamour of the African desert and its effect on the normal character and temperament of usually unemotional Europeans. On the whole, not a pleasant tale.

"Clem," in the tale of that name,[4] is piquant, plain-spoken, and often amusing. She is introduced, through her love for a young man of good social antecedents, into a circle of a higher caste than her own, and there makes things very lively. Too much piazza talk and too little probability mar the general effect.

[1] The Lone Star. By Eugene P. Lyle, Jr. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.
[2] Empire Builders. By Francis Lynde. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.50.
[3] Barbary Sheep. By Robert Hichens. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.
[4] Clem. By Edna Kenton. The Century Company, New York. $1.

The Avery History

The so-called neglected period of American history, that between active colonization and the final struggle for the conquest of New France, is the subject of the latest volume of Mr. Elroy M. Avery's "History of the United States and its People."[1] It is not a period intrinsically lacking in interest, but it is a period of which it is difficult to write in an interesting way, chiefly because of the impossibility of making a connected story out of the multitudinous and widely separated events with which it is crowded—the settlement of the Carolinas, the conquest of New Netherland, the founding of Pennsylvania and Georgia, the Bacon Rebellion, the establishment of the Dominion of New England, the Leisler uprising, King Philip's War, and so much else. Mr. Avery, therefore, like his predecessors, has been obliged to adopt the topical plan, obtaining, however, a sense of unity by emphasizing the two great salient facts of the period—the growing determination of the home authorities to unify the colonies, and the growing unrest and independence of the colonists. He has, on the other hand, scarcely brought out sufficiently the sectional interests and characteristics which hampered the unification scheme of the government and were later to retard effective opposition to governmental oppression. And his treatment is, as a whole, too strictly narrative to give a ready comprehension of the real significance of the sundry sporadic expressions of discontent with which he deals. Still, what he says is soundly and helpfully informative, and is said in an eminently interesting way; and so fair and cautious are his conclusions that it is impossible to feel that he has gone astray on essential points. It is pleasant to find, also, that Mr. Avery has profited by earlier criticisms—developing, for example, far more clearly than before the relationship between the early upbuilding of America and the stirring events transpiring in Europe. In this connection, too, mention must be made of the really excellent chapters on the British colonial policy, which is viewed from both the political and the economic standpoint. Other especially commendable features are the detailed account of the Western explorations of the French, the narrative of the chief events in the colonization of Pennsylvania and Georgia, the story of the Bacon Rebellion—though one may hardly regard Bacon as a "transplanted Cromwell"—and the

[1] A History of the United States and its People. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In 15 vols. Vol. III. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio. $6.25, net, per vol.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

glowing picture of the transformation period in New Netherland. In sharp contrast, by the way, stand the attenuated sketches of the witchcraft craze in New England and Culpeper's insurrection. Mr. Avery's style remains easy, graphic, and attractive, having a tendency to dip into mixed tenses; and, as before, his text is admirably supplemented by numerous maps in color and suggestive illustrations.

Islam and Christianity

This volume,[1] consisting of lectures recently given at Princeton Seminary, sets forth the methods by which Mohammedanism was propagated in India, China, and Malaysia, and the methods of Christian missionaries among Moslems. That Islam (a term denoting to Moslems "submission to God") is an anachronism in the modern world is a suspicion that gains ground among its adherents, and various attempts at reform spring up under the pressure of advancing Christianity. These, and also the fatalism, inertia, and backward moral condition of the Moslem masses, appear in the present account, along with practical suggestions of the helpful points of contact where the Christian may meet the Moslem on his own ground. The subject gains nearer interest from the fact that the conquest of the Philippines has brought a multitude of Moslems—the Moros—under American rule.

The Heart of the Gospel

Under this title[2] many years ago the late Dr. Sears, a Unitarian, wrote his profoundly spiritual book on the Gospel according to John. The present author has taken it for his popular exposition of the doctrine of the Atonement. It is in closer accord than many such with the present trend of religious thought. In the main it takes the line pursued long ago by Dr. McLeod Campbell, which brought him into painful collision with stiff Scotch Calvinists. Its interpretation of the Scriptural terms avoids literalism and legalism. The key to their significance is found, where most theologians have not found it, in the parable of the Prodigal Son, as a revelation of the Divine propitiousness. By "the blood of Christ," as Dean Stanley used to teach, is to be understood the *life* of Christ, given for us, and given to us, to bring us into holy fellowship with himself and God. "*He* is our peace," said St. Paul; his saving personality, not a plan of salvation, is the real substance of his Atonement; the closest analogue to which is the redemption of a wayward son by a mother's sacrificial love. The treatment of the subject is intensely ethical, and (a point too often neglected) its social as well as its individual application is made: "The same challenge which the cross offered a few generations ago to feudalism it is offering to-day to capitalism. By its ethics all things in the present industrial system are being tested. . . . Society is to be saved by the Spirit of Christ's sacrifice entering into it."

Anglican Theology

This volume[1] is the first of a series of ten, designed to end the "misfortune" that Anglican students "cannot find any extended systematic treatise on divine truth without resorting to Latin literature or the works of dissenters." The learned author believes that "many Churchmen are infected with the limitations of the dissenting mind, and labor under ignorant prejudice against principles truly Catholic, but which are thought to be peculiarly Roman." One of these principles appears to be that "the authority of the Catholic Church alone is competent to distinguish and authenticate the Holy Scriptures, and impose them upon the faithful as the Word of God"—a radically anti-Protestant principle. In contrast with Catholic theology our so-called "common Christianity," or "undenominationalism," is set down as "a vacant thing." The Scriptures are pronounced inerrant, both in general and in particular, even as to the stupendous miracles ascribed to Elijah and Elisha. The only allowed use of the ancient creeds is to take them in the original meaning of their words. It requires but moderate acquaintance with the writings of representative Anglicans to be aware that this work will not be accepted as a standard by the Anglican Church as a body, but at most by a strong minority party in it, the so-called Anglo-Catholics.

Inter-Biblical History

For popular use this is a convenient little book,[2] and is written in an animating and attractive style. The chapter on the Old Testament Apocrypha is especially important. That these writings form the background of the New Testament, and are conducive to a better understanding of it, is better recognized now than formerly. What seems to be careless proof-reading has disfigured the present work with numerous unfortunate errors. But the interpretation of "Epiphanes" (literally, illustrious)—the surname of King Antiochus IV.—as "God made manifest" (!) is not the proof-reader's fault.

[1] Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East. By Rev. E. M. Wherry, M.A., D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.25, net.

[2] The Heart of the Gospel. By James M. Campbell, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.25, net.

[1] Introduction to Dogmatic Theology. By Rev. Francis J. Hall, D.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50, net.

[2] Between the Testaments. By the Rev. David Gregg, D.D., LL.D. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. 75c., net.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MASSACHUSETTS

Home Study Courses

John F. Genung, Ph. D., Professor of English

Our school offers an opportunity to study at home *under the personal instruction of leading professors in our great colleges.*

We teach over one hundred courses in Academic and Preparatory, Agricultural, Commercial, Normal and Common School branches.

Our tuition rates are so low that no one need be kept from enrolling with us on the ground of expense.

Write today for a free copy of our eighty-page catalogue.

THE HOME CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL, Dept. 30, Springfield, Mass.

The MacDuffie School for Girls

The marked feature of this school is its individual care of pupils, physically and intellectually. College certificate privileges. Illustrated catalogue. Principals: JOHN MACDUFFIE, Ph.D., and MRS. JOHN MACDUFFIE, A.B., Springfield, Mass.

WABAN SCHOOL

For 30 boys, 12 to 18, $550 to $600. J. H. Pillsbury, Box 140, Waban, Mass. Six years' course. Individual attention. Prepares for any College or Scientific School. Certificate privilege. Athletic director.

MASSACHUSETTS, Wellesley.

Wellesley School for Boys

A school that's different. Send for booklet and catalogue.

MASSACHUSETTS, Box D, West Newton.

Allen School

A school for wholesome boys. College preparation. Certificates given. Small Junior Department. Athletic Director. Illustrated catalogue describes special features.

The Misses Allen

(Daughters of the late well-known educator, MR. NATH'L T. ALLEN), **will reopen their School for Girls, OCTOBER 1, 1907.** Address

THE MISSES ALLEN, West Newton, Mass.

WESLEYAN ACADEMY

Wilbraham, Mass. Special training for college and business. Art, Music. Gymnasium. Athletic field. Large farm. Outdoor life emphasized. **C. M. MELDEN, Ph.D., Principal.**

CLARK COLLEGE

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Ph.D., LL.D., President

Worcester, Mass. Three year course leading to degree of Bachelor of Arts. Tuition $50 a year—no extras. Admission on certificate. Gymnasium. For information address **R. C. BENTLEY, Dean.**

MASSACHUSETTS, Worcester.

Worcester Academy

All advantages of a large school: master educators, complete equipment, enthusiasm. Eight buildings. Special laboratories. Gymnasium. "Megaron" containing noble Recreation Hall and big Swimming Pool. Eight Tennis Courts. Ample Oval. Cinder Track. 74th year. Catalogue. D. W. ABERCROMBIE, LL.D.

Miss Kimball's School

For Girls University Section of WORCESTER, MASS.

22d year. College preparatory. General and Special courses. Scholarships for best college preparatory work. Gymnasium, field sports, etc. *Permanent* home for girls if needed. Illustrated booklet free.

MICHIGAN

The Michigan Military Academy

ORCHARD LAKE, MICH.

Ideal site. Fine equipment. Prepares for all colleges. Strong teaching. Genuine military training. Symmetrical culture. Clean atmosphere. Not a reform school.

LAWRENCE CAMERON HULL, President and Superintendent.

MISSOURI

BLEES MILITARY ACADEMY

MACON Missouri

College Preparatory and all general courses. **$600,000 Plant.** Col. GEO. R. BURNETT, LL.B., A.M., Supt., Box 100, Macon, Mo.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY

127th year opened Sept. 11th, 1907. For catalogue and views, address **Harlan P. Amen, Principal, Exeter, New Hampshire**

NEW HAMPSHIRE, Mont Vernon.

The Stearns School

For Small Boys

Prepares for Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., and other leading schools. Boys live in cottages with principal and masters, and are under their care and supervision. Golf, tennis, baseball. For information address ARTHUR F. STEARNS, Principal.

Rockland Military Academy

Education is Costly Ignorance More So

This school develops manliness, builds character, trains mind and body at the formative time of a boy's life. Military system, judicious athletics, preparation for College, West Point, Annapolis, or business. 11th year. **SUMMER CAMP.** Over $10,000.00 spent in improvements this year. Our five books free.

ELMER E. FRENCH
5 Seminary Hill
WEST LEBANON, NEW HAMPSHIRE
On the Connecticut River, 4 miles from Dartmouth College.

NEW JERSEY

NEW JERSEY, Blairstown.

Blair Academy

John I. Blair Foundation. 60th year. Prepares for any American College. New Buildings, Gymnasium, and Swimming Pool. Campus 60 acres. Moderate rates.
JOHN C. SHARPE, A.M., D.D., Principal.

NEW JERSEY, Bridgeton. (Near Philadelphia.)

Ivy Hall

Miss Macdonald's and Miss Finn's SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

College Preparatory and Finishing courses. Certificate admits to leading colleges. Boating, basket ball, tennis.

St. Mary's Hall

For Girls

Burlington, New Jersey

Ideal Location between New York and Philadelphia

High standard of scholarship
Excellent record of health
Happy home life

DWIGHT SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Englewood, New Jersey. College Preparatory and Special Courses. Certificates accepted by leading colleges. Location only 14 miles from New York City. Spacious grounds. Gymnasium. **MISS CREIGHTON and MISS FARRAR, Principals**

Centenary Collegiate Institute

HACKETTSTOWN, N. J.

A fine school for boys and girls over 14 years of age. College preparatory and other courses. Rates moderate. Fine buildings and excellent facilities. Send for bulletin. Rev. E. A. NOBLE, D.D., Pres.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey Military Academy
FREEHOLD, N. J.
Catalogue with 48 illustrations. COL. C. J. WRIGHT, A.M., Supt.

The Knox School for Girls
Lakewood, New Jersey.
Miss Mary F. Knox, A.B., Principal.

NEW JERSEY, Montclair.

Cloverside School for Girls
Near New York. Early application necessary.
For prospectus address Miss E. TIMLOW.

NEW BRUNSWICK, New Jersey.

Rutgers Preparatory School for Boys
Founded 1766. Thorough preparation for all colleges. Good libraries. Gymnasium, athletics, military drills. Individual instruction. ELIOT R. PAYSON, Ph.D., Head Master.

NEW JERSEY, Princeton.

Princeton Preparatory School
College-preparatory school for boys over fourteen. Rapid progress possible because of limited number of pupils (fifty) and freedom from rigid class organization. Ample grounds; modern buildings. Personal inspection invited. Address J. B. FINE, Headmaster.

KENT PLACE SCHOOL for Girls
Summit, N. J. (Suburban to New York). Mrs. Sarah Woodman Paul, Principal. Hamilton Wright Mabie, LL.D., Presd't Board of Directors.

NEW YORK CITY

Mr. and Mrs. Willis E. Bacheller
SCHOOL OF SINGING
Studio, 432 Fifth Avenue, New York City
OPENS THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4

NEW YORK LAW SCHOOL — Day School, Evening School — 35 Nassau St., New York City
"Dwight Method" of instruction. LL.B. in two years. LL.M. in three years. High standards. Send for catalogue.
GEORGE CHASE, Dean.

Kindergarten Normal Department Ethical Culture School
For information address Miss CAROLINE T. HAVEN, Central Park West and 63d St., New York City.

Training School for Nurses
The Kings County Hospital Training School for Nurses is desirous of greatly increasing the nursing staff. The course is two years with two months probation. During this probationary term candidates are maintained; after this term $10 per month is allowed. Uniforms and books are supplied. There is a comfortable nurses' home which is pleasantly located. For further particulars apply to
MISS M. O'NEILL,
Superintendent of Nurses, Kings County Hospital Brooklyn, N. Y.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK, Albany.

St. Agnes' School. For Girls
Preparation for leading colleges. Also advanced course, with diploma. Well equipped laboratories. Health first consideration. Gymnasium. Catalogue. Miss SEABURY, Head of School.
BISHOP DOANE, President Board of Trustees.

BINGHAMTON, NEW YORK

The Lady Jane Grey School
For Girls. Twenty-fifth year. Mrs. JANE GREY HYDE, Miss MARY R. HYDE, Miss JANE BREWSTER HYDE, Principals.

CLINTON PREPARATORY SCHOOL
Clinton, New York (9 miles from Utica). 10th year. 16 Boys. Prepares for any college. Boys 10 to 14 years at time of entrance preferred. **J. B. WHEELER, A.M., Prin.**

The Mackenzie School
Dobbs Ferry-on-Hudson, N. Y.
Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor Review of Reviews, Chairman of the Council. Dr. James C. Mackenzie, Director. Catalogue will be sent by the Secretary.

NEW YORK

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL
Garden City, Long Island, N. Y.
A school for girls, eighteen miles from New York. Numbers limited; healthful location; spacious buildings; college preparatory work. Excellent advantages in music and modern languages. References required. Address Miss ANNIE S. GIBSON, Principal.

OSSINING SCHOOL for Girls
OSSINING-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.
40th year. MISS CLARA C. FULLER, Principal.

The Dr. Holbrook School
OSSINING, N. Y.
FOR NEW BOYS SEPT. 25TH
41st year begins for old boys Sept. 26th.

NEW YORK, Poughkeepsie.
Putnam Hall School for Girls. Primary, Intermediate and College Departments and General Course. Aims to develop helpful, thoughtful womanhood by correct and sympathetic methods. Certificates admit to Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, and Holyoke. Catalogue on request. ELLEN CLIZBE BARTLETT, Principal.

LYNDON HALL SCHOOL
prepares many girls for Vassar, but is distinctively a *Home School*, and offers special advantages to the large number of girls who do not go to college.
SAMUEL W. BUCK, A.M., Principal, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Rye Seminary,
Rye, New York.
For particulars address
Mrs. S. J. LIFE, The Misses STOWE

NEW YORK, Scarsdale.
Heathcote Hall
THE MISSES LOCKWOOD'S COLLEGIATE SCHOOL FOR GIRLS
Beautifully located among the hills of Westchester County, 40 minutes from Grand Central Station. Certificate admits to leading colleges. General courses. Music and Art. Outdoor sports. Catalogue on request.

Miss C. E. Mason's Suburban School
FOR GIRLS. THE CASTLE, Tarrytown-on-Hudson, N. Y.
All departments. College preparatory, graduating and special courses. For circular address
Miss C. E. MASON, LL.M., Lock Box 711.

Emma Willard School for Girls
(Formerly Troy Female Seminary.) Certificate admits to Wellesley, Vassar, and Smith Colleges, and Cornell University. General and Special Courses. Music and Art Schools. Fire-proof buildings. Two Scholarships. Out-of-door games. For catalogue, write to MISS ANNA LEACH, A.M., Principal, Troy, N. Y.

The Balliol School
UTICA, N. Y. For Girls
College preparatory and general courses.
EDITH ROCKWELL HALL, A.B., Head.

The Halsted School
YONKERS ON HUDSON, N. Y. Certificate admits to Vassar and Wellesley. Fine course in music. The principal receives a few resident pupils into her home on school grounds.

OHIO

The Bartholomew-Clifton School
FOR GIRLS
An attractive home department for a limited number of resident pupils. Prepares for the best colleges. Advanced course for High School Graduates. Music, Art, Languages.
MISS E. A. ELY, A.M., and MISS M. F. SMITH, Principals,
Evanswood, Clifton, Cincinnati.

OHIO, Cleveland, 4008 Prospect Avenue.

Miss Mittleberger's Home and Day School
College preparatory and general courses.

OHIO, Oberlin, Box O.

OBERLIN ACADEMY
Seventeen instructors. Thoroughly equipped to prepare for any college or scientific school. New courses in History and Science. New gymnasium. Expenses reasonable. Seventy-fifth year begins Sept. 17th, 1907. For catalogue apply to JOHN FISHER PECK, Principal

PENNSYLVANIA

PENNSYLVANIA, Bethlehem.

MORAVIAN SEMINARY FOR GIRLS
Founded 1749. 158th year opens September 18th. Address
J. MAX HARK, D.D., Principal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Institute of Musical Art Of the City of New York

Frank Damrosch, Director

53 Fifth Avenue, Corner Twelfth Street

Endowed and incorporated. Re-opens October 14th. Catalogue on application.

PENNSYLVANIA

he Misses Shipley's School

reparatory to Bryn Mawr College.

EW BUILDING: Colonial style, with every improved ointment.

ITUATION: Educational and social opportunities of situa i opposite Bryn Mawr College.

NSTRUCTION: Diploma in college preparatory and Aca ic courses. Specialists in all departments. Two resident nch teachers.

THLETICS: Resident athletic director.

or illustrated circular, address

THE SECRETARY, Box "G," BRYN MAWR, Pa.

ıe Baldwin School for Girls

Pennsylvania Bryn Mawr

Incorporated 1906. Formerly Miss Baldwin's School.

reparatory to Bryn Mawr College. Within 17 years 216 students ı this school have entered Bryn Mawr College. Certificate its to Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley. Diploma given in both eral and college preparatory courses. Fireproof stone building. enty-five acres of grounds. A separate cottage for young girls. circular address the Secretary.

JANE L. BROWNELL, A.M., Head of the School.

NNSYLVANIA, Chestnut Hill.

rs. Chapman and iss Jones

BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

orough College Preparatory and Finishing Courses, with cial opportunities for culture. Number of pupils limited. sses small, insuring individual attention. Large, com- able house with pleasant grounds. Students attend lec- es, art exhibitions, etc., given in Philadelphia. Gymna- n, tennis, basket ball, and skating.

ennsylvania Military College

Chester, Pa.

th Year begins Sept. 18. Degrees in Civil Engineering, Chem- y, Arts. Also preparatory Courses. Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, olastic, Military, Moral, and Athletic training. Catalogues of . CHAS. E. HYATT, President.

MAPLEWOOD

. successful school, near Phila. Infuses with energy, wakes up 's to the duties of life. Prepares 40 Boys for college or business. ı year. One of the finest gymnasiums in Pa. Dept. for Little s. No tobacco. Manual training.
J. SHORTLIDGE, A.M., Yale, Prin., Concordville, Pa. Box 28.

PENNSYLVANIA, Kennett Square.

darcroft School.

Prepares for all colleges and technical schools. Manual training. orough instruction by experienced teachers. Occupies estate of ard Taylor, 125 acres (in country and away from distracting uences of city life). Excellent cuisine. All athletics. For illus- ed catalogue A address JESSE EVANS PHILIPS, A.M., Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Kingston.

yoming Seminary

Founded in 1844.

educational. College Preparatory and Business Courses. De- tments of Music, Art and Oratory. Fine buildings. Beautiful ation. Yearly rates, $350. 63d year opens Sept. 18th. Catalogue request. Address REV. L. L. SPRAGUE, D.D., President.

OGONTZ SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES

Twenty minutes from Philadelphia. two hours from New York. e late Mr. Jay Cooke's fine property. For circulars address Miss SYLVIA J. EASTMAN, Principal, Ogontz School P. O., Pa.

PENNSYLVANIA, Overbrook.

iss Sayward's School

for girls, in charming, healthful suburb of iladelphia. Delightful home, modern building recently enlarged, lege preparatory and special courses, musical department. out- or sports. Develops character, mind, and body. For illustrated alogue G, address Miss S. JANET SAYWARD, Prin.

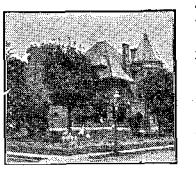
PENNSYLVANIA

Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania

Fifty-eighth Annual Session. Thorough course. Four years. Exceptional facilities for Laboratory and Bedside Instruction. Post-Graduate courses in Operative Gynæcology; in Obstetrics, the Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat. Full particulars in catalogue.

CLARA MARSHALL, M.D., DEAN,
Box 200, 21st St. and North College Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

Miss Foster's School



Melrose Park, Oak Lane, Philadelphia

A Boarding School for Girls. Beautifully situated in a suburb of Philadelphia. Newly equipped building surrounded by two acres of grounds. Special department for little girls. Resident French governess. Music, Art, Nature Study. Fully equipped gymnasium. Number of pupils limited. For catalogue address

MISS MABEL L. FOSTER

PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, Oak Lane.

Miss Marshall's School

For Girls

Academic and Music Departments. College Preparatory and Special Courses. Ideal location. Comfortable home life and outdoor sports. For particulars and illustrated circulars, address Miss E. S. MARSHALL.

The Training School for Kindergartners

under the direction of Miss Caroline M. C. Hart, will re-open September 26, 1907, at 1615 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. The work will include Junior, Senior, Graduate and Normal Trainer's Courses, Mothers' Classes, and a Model Kindergarten. For particulars address **Miss CAROLINE M. C. HART, The Pines Rutledge, Pa.**

PENNSYLVANIA, West Chester.

The Darlington Seminary

A high grade school for girls. Vassar preparatory, English, School of Music, School of Art, School of Expression. Individual instruction. Moral, social, and physical culture. $275 and up. FRANK PAXSON BYE, B.S., President.

VERMONT

Vermont Academy

Saxtons River, Vt. For Boys and Girls

An endowed school. Ideal location, in the foothills of the Green Mountains, and excellent equipment. College Preparatory, Music and Art Courses. Certificate admits to colleges. Pure spring water. Gymnasium. Athletic Field. Terms moderate. Address for catalogue, **JOHN L. ALGER, A.M., Principal.**

Housekeeping Interesting (?)

"I never realized that housekeeping could be made so interesting until I began these lessons. I always 'hated' it, and only took up this course to please my father. Now it all looks so different and I am ever reading and studying."

This is what Miss M. says about the home-study courses of the American School of Home Economics. Illustrated booklet of 66 pages, "The Profession of Home-Making," sent on request. Address postal A. S. H. E., 624 W. 69th St., Chicago, Ill.

Professional cooks find

LEA & PERRINS' SAUCE

the most valuable of all sauces—the peerless seasoning.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$63.52
ON
$1,000

Plus the increase value profits.

That is what a

UNIT OF CENTRAL BUSINESS PROPERTY

in Trustee Property No. 5, Seattle, will pay.

This is an investment which

PAYS AND GROWS

and gives absolute safety to principal and income.

UNITS in nine centrally located Business Properties in

SEATTLE LOS ANGELES SPOKANE

WRITE FOR DESCRIPTIONS OF THE UNITS

The Trustee Company of Seattle
The Trustee Company of Los Angeles
The Trustee Company of Spokane

THE TRUSTEE SECURITIES COMPANY
No. 1 Wall St., New York

From our large stock of

North Dakota Farm Mortgages

we submit the following:

No. 2597-Yost. $950, 5½%, 3½ years. Stutsman County. NW¼, Sec. 12-T. 144-R. 66, 160 acres

Very choice farm, 3½ miles southeast of Melville, North Dakota. Black loam soil, 8 to 10 inches deep; clay subsoil; 155 acres cultivated and all the adjoining lands cultivated. Land itself appraised at $3,200; buildings at $1,100; total security, $4,300. Loan accompanied by $500 fire insurance on buildings.

Write for our monthly list, giving a large selection of similar loans, yielding 5½% and 6%.

WELLS & DICKEY COMPANY

Established 1878 — Security Bank Building
Capital and Surplus, $500,000 — Minneapolis, Minnesota

Healthy and Happy Children
are those which are properly nourished.

Borden's Eagle Brand Condensed Milk

Perfectly Solves the Milk Question for Nursery and Household.

Send for "Baby's Biography."

BORDEN'S CONDENSED MILK COMPANY
Est. 1857 "*Leaders of Quality*" New York

VOSE

HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED
55 YEARS

and are receiving more favorable comments to-day from an artistic standpoint than all other makes combined.

WE CHALLENGE COMPARISONS.

By our easy payment plan every family in moderate circumstances can own a **vose** piano. We allow a liberal price for old instruments in exchange, and deliver the piano in your house free of expense. You can deal with us at a distant point the same as in Boston. Catalogue, books, etc., giving full information mailed free.

VOSE & SONS PIANO CO.,
157 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

PIANOS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED